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GRIECHISCHE URKUNDEN

ÄGYPTISCHE URKUNDEN

aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin

Griechische Urkunden, XIII. Band

GREEK PAPYRI FROM ROMAN EGYPT

edited by

William M. Brashear

with 14 plates

STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ

BERLIN 1976

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Preface

This thirteenth volume in the Berliner Griechische Urkunden (BGU) series presents the results of a three year stay at the Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin. Although it appears after the publication of BGU XII: "Urkunden aus Hermupolis", it continues nonetheless in the fashion of BGU XI: "Urkunden römischer Zeit". Grouped together here in one volume is a mélange of documents, originating for the most part in the Fayum. Scattered examples derive from the Oxyrhynchite, Busirite, Diopolite and Herakleopolite nomes, and certain papyri, written in Alexandria, were found in the Fayum. With few exceptions the texts date to the first three centuries A.D.

The uncertain and obscure origin of most of the papyri in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum is adequately discussed in the introduction to BGU XI. My experience can only confirm the remarks made there. In view of these circumstances any effort at determining the place of excavation of most of these documents is wasted; so I have been content to assign each a provenance derived usually from internal evidence.

The system of presentation is by and large that adopted in BGU X and XI. Each papyrus is introduced by a physical description (the first measurement taken along the vertical axis, the second along the horizontal). Then follows a brief summary of the contents with a list of references where similar and parallel texts and discussions may be found. A transcription of the text, using the Leyden system of brackets and dots, is accompanied by a brief commentary, wherein are noted only the most significant or unusual features of the document. Orthographical and grammatical irregularities (apart from common itacisms) are either noted in a separate apparatus or included in the commentary. Concluding each presentation is the translation, with reconstructions indicated in parentheses. (Heavy Arabic numerals refer to papyri in this volume).

Some twenty of the documents appearing here originally constituted a dissertation (unpublished) submitted to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1973, in fulfillment of the requirements for the doctorate degree in classical studies. In addition, five have appeared previously in various papyrological journals. Each of these has been noted with a reference to the original publication.

Many helped me in the preparation of this volume. J. Hofmann undertook the restoration and conservation of the papyri. J. Liepe and I. Geske photographed them. K.-T. Zauzich came to my aid when my paths chanced upon Demotica, and G. Poethke accommodated my requests to examine papyri in

the collection in East Berlin. Both the British Library in London and the Bibliothèque Universitaire de Genève sent at my request photographs of papyri in their collections. Others whose advice I consulted on the interpretation of this or that difficult text are noted by name in the commentaries. It is, however, to H. Maehler that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude, for it was at his invitation and suggestion that I first undertook the present work, and under his tutelage and continuous assistance that I completed it.

To the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk I am obliged for generously providing the support necessary for this sojourn in Berlin. Finally to the printers of Hubert & Co. a word of gratitude for friendly cooperation and careful preparation of a difficult manuscript and to S. With for reading it.

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations employed in this edition correspond generally to those cited in LSJ (= Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed., List of Abbreviations III-IV, pp. xliii-xlvi) and LSJ Supplement, pp. x-xi. The following are either new to those lists or else abbreviated differently in this volume.

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- BIFAO* Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1901 ff.
- BL* Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten, 1922 ff.
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- MIFAO* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1902 ff.
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- Wallace, *Taxation* = S. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938
- Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka* = U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1899
- Grundz. und Chrest.* = U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Historischer Teil*, Leipzig, 1912

Nr. 2211 Letter Announcing the Prefect's Visit (Pl. I)

P. 21915 recto
12.4 × 15.3 cm

Alexandria
ca. 192 A.D.

Upper margin 3 cm. The light brown papyrus lacks small portions from the left and right. From the bottom an inestimable amount has disappeared. The script of the first hand is large, neat and sloping; that of the second in lighter ink is rapid and scrawling. On the verso is 2357.

A letter, probably addressed to the strategoi of the nomes through which he was about to travel, announces the arrival of the prefect Larcus Memor. The writer urges them to oversee the preparation of provisions (the exact wording is lost) and concludes by listing the nomes soon to be burdened. Only the first of these is preserved before the papyrus breaks.

Texts concerning prefectural journeys are not numerous, and this one is all the more interesting in its mention of a prefect who has appeared only once before in papyri or inscriptions. If the letter had any date it is now lost, and the most information that can be gained from it is that Larcus Memor made a trip into Egypt sometime during his administration, most likely for purposes of inspection or for holding the *conventus*. See Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 78–79, 100; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, pp. 358–359; *Chrest.*, pp. 413–415; Hagedorn-Youtie, P. Petaus, pp. 45–47 for related discussions. A similar letter, regarding the visit of Hadrian, is SB 9617.

[*πρό*]νοιαν ἐποιήσάμην τοῦ π[± 8]ους
[] (m. 2) ἐγ τό(μου) α ἐ(πὶ) κολ(λήματος) [].
(m. 1) [στρ(ατηγοῖς) τ]ῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν χαίρειν.
[Λαρκ]ίου Μέμορος μέλλοντος ἤδη ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τῇ Αἰγυπτ[τίων]
5 [χώρῃ] παρεῖναι [δπ]ου ἐὰν ἦν φροντίσατε, ἐπιστάμενο[ι ὅτι]
[e.g. ὁ ἀμελῶν δίκην ὁ]φέξει· ταῦτα γράφω ἀ[ξιω]θεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γλ[]
[]
[]ισκ[.] Φθεμφουθ(ιτ-)

2 ἐγ τό(μου) α ἐ(πὶ) κολ(λήματος): I am indebted to H. Youtie for the interpretation of these abbreviations. In the upper margin is a trace of lighter ink, such as that used for this notation, which appears to be the lower half of epsilon. The scribe, after beginning here, probably changed his mind and wrote the notation in the large space between lines one and three.

3 [στρ(ατηγοῖς) τ]ῶν κτλ.: These would be the obvious addressees. The words in this line are broadly spaced, and the nu in *χαίρειν* is spread over a space which may have measured 2.5 cm when the papyrus was whole.

1 Brashear, Greek Papyri

- 4 [Λαρχ]ίου Μέμορος: prefect ca. 192 and otherwise known only from P. Ryl. 77.36; see G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d' Egitto dal 30^a al 299^a", *ZPE* 17 (1975) 303.
 ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς: The phrase, equivalent to "quod bonum felix faustumque sit" and ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, is common in classical literature and enjoyed wide-spread popularity in dedicatory inscriptions (O. Broneer, *Corinth* III Pt. 1, pp. 58-60). However, it also appears frequently in contexts relating to prefectural journeys, as in this example: BGU 12.4; 1197.12; P. Oxy. 71 II 17; P. Lond. 1159 I 3; SB 8001.9.
 4-5 τῇ Αἰγυπτίων χώρῃ: Cf. BGU 13.3, 21: ἀπὸ χώρας Χενεβριτών, ἀπὸ χώρας Νεθειτών.
 5 παρῆναι: The infinitive recalls the substantive παρουσία which with other synonyms indicated the visit of the prefect.
 6 I am indebted to H. C. Youtie for suggesting the restorations in this line. For similar phrasing, see Wilcken, *Chrest.* 469.10; P. Fay. 21.25; P. Cair. Zen. 59045.2-3.
 7 Φθεμφουθ(ι-): This is the fourth mention of the Phthemphuthite nome in papyri, the other three being P. Ryl. 78.5; P. Lond. 921.1 (p. 133); P. Oxy. 1380.40. It was located in the central Delta, north of the Prosopite nome and east of the Athribite, and had as its metropolis Taua (P. Oxy. 1380.40 note; Henri Gauthier, "Les nomes d'Égypte", *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte* 25 (1935) 149-151).

Translation: "I have seen to the . . . (Hd. 2) From the 1st roll in the -th column. (Hd. 1) (To the strategoi) of the nomes written below, greetings. Provide for (Larcus) Memor who is soon about to make his beneficent appearance in the (land) of the Egyptians, knowing (that whoever neglects this) will suffer (the penalty). At his request I write these things . . . Phthemphuthite nome . . ."

Nr. 2212 Greetings to the Prefect (Pl. II)

P. 21483

15.2 × 15.2 cm

3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 0.5-1 cm, right 2-5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and coarse. To the right remain roughly two cm of a second sheet of papyrus attached to the same verso fibers.

Each of the seventeen lines on this papyrus is written in a different hand and conveys the same message: ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι, ἡγεμὼν κύριε. Unless it is simply a writing exercise, similar to P. Mich. 431 (see A. Welkenhuysen, "Document juridique ou exercices d'écriture? P. Mich. VII 431 reconsidéré", *Studia Hellenistica* 16 (1968) 308-316), the implications of this unique text seem clear enough: on some special occasion a number of people sent their greetings to the prefect of Egypt, wishing him health and happiness.

The formula employed here is a conventional one and in itself says little. In all probability heading the papyrus was a general salutation to which then each person in turn appended his signature. Preceding some of the lines the papyrus has preserved the number 17 followed by a stroke. Is this perhaps the date of the festive occasion? Until missing fragments or a parallel text are discovered, this papyrus must remain an enigmatic curiosity.

- (m. 1)] σε εὐχομαι[α] ἡγεμὼν [κύριε
 (m. 2)].[εὐ]χομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 (m. 3) σ]ε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν [κύριε
 (m. 4)]ζ' ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 5 (m. 5)].ιζ ε[] traces
 etc.]. . . [ἡ]γεμὼν κύριε
].ιζ [ἐρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κ[ύ]ριε
] ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
]ιζ- ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 10]. . . ' ἐρρῶσθέ σε εὐχομε ἡγεμὼν κύριε
]ζ' ἐρρῶσθέ σε εὐ[χ]ομε ἡγεμὼν κύριε
].[. . .] .υχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
] ἐρρῶσθέ σαι εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κ[ύ]ριε
 ἐρρῶσ]θαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 15 ἐ]ρρῶσθ[αί] σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 ἐρρ]ῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι ἡγεμὼν κύριε
 (m. 17) ἐρρῶ]σθαί σε αὐχομε ἡγεμὼν κύριε

12 .υχομαι: Preceding the upsilon is the upper portion of a vertical crooked hasta, perhaps αὐχομαι.

Nr. 2213 Letter Concerning the Appointment of a Guardian (Pl. I)

P. 21928 + P. Nicole 2

7.8 × 8 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

147 A.D.

Upper margin 2.5 cm. The hand is that of a skilled scribe, carefully and neatly written with fluid cursiveness. On the verso are traces of two half-lines of faded writing in a large, heavy, clumsy script.

Enough remains of this fragment to identify it as part of a papyrus in Geneva, bought in Egypt by Jules Nicole and first published by him in *Revue Archéologique* in 1894. The entire document consists of three texts which relate to the appointment of a guardian for a fatherless child.

The first text preserves only the right line-ends of what is apparently a petition from the mother, Petronilla, to the juridicus, Calvisius Patrophilus, where she discusses the naming of a guardian for Lucius Herennius whose father has just died.

The second contains the concluding lines of the petition as well as a complete copy of a letter from Ptolemaios, strategos of the Aphroditopolite nome, to Maximus, strategos of the division of Heraklides in the Arsinoite nome. Accord-

ing to the information afforded by this text, the course of events appears to have run as follows: Upon the death of her husband, Petronilla submitted to the juridicus the names of two men as possible guardians for her son. The juridicus referred the names to Maximos, strategos of the division where Petronilla was a resident, with the order to determine which of the men was the more trustworthy. Because both candidates were residents or landowners in the Aphroditopolite nome, Maximos availed himself of the aid of his colleague, Ptolemaios the strategos. Ptolemaios conducted his investigation of the two candidates and reported the results to Maximos in a letter, a copy of which comprises the bulk of the second papyrus.

The Berlin fragment belongs to the third text and makes a substantial addition to the first seven lines of a copy of a letter from Maximos, conveying his findings to the juridicus. Since both of the preceding documents are dated in Thoth of the year 147, this third one was probably written not long afterward.

Wilcken reconstructed and outlined the whole case in his re-edition of the texts in *Archiv* 3 (1906) 368–379. For literature on the guardianship of minors in general, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 157 ff.

The beginnings of the lines preserved in the Geneva text are underlined here.

[ἀν]τίγραφ(αφον) ἐπιστολῆς

Μ[άξι]μος ὁ καὶ Νέαρχος στρ(ατηγός) Ἀρσ[ι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδ(ος)]

Καλον[ι]σίῳ Πατροφίλῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ δι[καιοδότη] χ(αίρειν)·]

ἐδήλωσάς μοι περὶ καταστάσεως ἐπιτρ[όπου]

5 Λουκίου Ἑρεννίου ἀφήλικος ἐκ τῶ(ν) ἀρ[αδιδο-]

μένω(ν) ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν [ἀξιοπιστό-]

τερον [± 4]αὶ καὶ γράψαι σοὶ λαβ[ών]

2 With the aid of a photograph kindly supplied by the Bibliothèque Universitaire de Genève it is now possible to see that what Wilcken read on Nicole's papyrus as an alpha and restored as ἀ[ντίγραφον κτλ.] is actually the first half of mu in the name Maximos. The short ἀντίγρ- ἐπιστολῆς is indented, and consequently no trace of it remains on the Geneva text. The first three lines of the recovered text confirm Wilcken's supposition (*op. cit.*, p. 377) that this letter was written by the strategos to the juridicus. His restorations, if not letter perfect, foreshadowed the general content of these lines.

3 Καλον[ι]σίῳ Πατροφίλῳ: He is known from these documents alone.

4 It now seems that what Wilcken read as omega (ἐδω) is the right vertical of the eta intersected by the left diagonal of lambda. The verb governs two constructions: first, the περὶ . . . ἀφήλικος phrase; second, the infinitive clause ἐκ τῶν . . .]αὶ.

5 ἐκ τῶ(ν): H. Maehler suggests this reading. The letters following ἀφήλικος are so rapidly written, the loops so ambiguous, that they make little sense to the modern transcriber. One expects, however, the writer had these words in mind as his pen raced along the page.

ἀρ[αδιδο]μένω(ν): The preceding letter (*Archiv* 3 (1906) 371–2) contains the phrase ὑπὸ . . . μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναδοθέντας, i. e. the men suggested as guardians.

6 μενω(ν): Nicole had originally transcribed μεγίς: Wilcken a hesitant μενο.

6–7 [ἀξιοπιστό]τερον: The entire correspondence generated by this case is concerned with ascertaining which of the two men proposed for the guardianship of the child is ἀξιοπιστότερος.

7]αὶ: [δηλώσ]αὶ? Cf. the wording in col. II 19: δηλώσω, [ὁπότε]ρος αὐτῶν [ἀξί]οπιστό-τερ[ός] ἐστιν; Wilcken restored l. 25 [δηλῶ] . . . τὸν ἀξιοπιστ[ότερο]ν αὐτῶν κτλ. (*Archiv* 3, p. 372).

λαβ[ών]: H. Maehler suggests restoring something like λαβ[ών τὴν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ] Ἀργγυ[νίου] κτλ. Although the lacuna is too short to accommodate the entire phrase as it is, the sense is appropriate.

Translation: "Copy of a letter. Maximos, alias Nearchos, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, (the division of Heraklides) to Calvisius Patrophilus, the most noble (juridicus, greetings). You have instructed me regarding the appointment of a guardian for the minor Lucius Herennius that I should (determine) the more (trustworthy) of those suggested by his mother and write to you, once I have received (the letter concerning?) Longinius, etc."

Nr. 2214 Receipt for Rent

P. 21461

8 × 8.6 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

41/42 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1.3 cm. The medium dark brown and fine-textured papyrus is damaged throughout by worm holes and broken off at the bottom. It appears to have been folded at least five times horizontally. The hand is a swift cursive, the letters often little more than almost uniform loops and squiggles.

A certain Tesenuphis, nomographos of Soknopaiu Nesos, makes a partial payment on the rent for the records office to a Hermias. The amount and method of payment are lost.

The position and function of the nomographos are still in large part unclarified. A. E. R. Boak in *P. Mich. II* introd., p. 4, describing the *graphion* at Tebtynis in the early 1st century A. D., says that it was operated by Kronion and Eutychas, οἱ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ. It is, however, uncertain under "whose supervision those in charge of the *graphion* stood, although a certain nomographos named Heronas seems to have acted in an official relation to them".

"The partners had to make a monthly payment (*διαγραφή*) to some office in Arsinoe, the immediate recipient being sometimes Heronas the nomographos and sometimes another person" (see also Boak, *P. Mich.* 123 introd., p. 96). The appearance of this papyrus, far from improving matters, rather complicates them. What is the nomographos doing here paying rent on the *graphion*, when in certain texts in *P. Mich. II* he is the recipient of payments from those in charge of the *graphion*? Furthermore can the monthly *diagraphai* payments

made by *οἱ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ* in any way be compared to, perhaps identified with, the rent payment made here? For the time being, until new information turns up, these questions will have to remain unanswered.

Ἑρμίας Τεσε(νού)φι νομογράφ(άφω)
 Σοκνοπ(άλου) Ν(ήσου) χαίρειν·
 ἔχω παρὰ σου ἄφ' ὧν ὀφ(ε)ίλεις
 φόρων γραφίου τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος]
 5 δευτέρου (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Κλ[αυδίου]
 [Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμανικοῦ]
 Αὐτοκράτορος κατ[αβολὰς]
 [τρεῖς] διὰ Ἀραβᾶτ[ος] ± 10]

1 *Τεσε(νού)φι*: I have expanded the name for the following reasons. Tesephis is not attested, whereas Tesenuphis is a common name in Soknopaiu Nesos. Furthermore, and most convincing, a Tesenuphis appears in P.dem.Ryl. 45 as translator (?) (= nomographos) in the *graphion* of Soknopaiu Nesos in 45 A.D. He may be the same one who four years later offers to rent the records office in P.Grenf. II 41 (= Mitteis, *Chrest.* 183). See Preisigke, *Griewesen*, pp. 411, 439.

νομογράφ(άφω): Descriptions of his activities are given in Preisigke, *Griewesen*, p. 277 n.5; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 56 n.7; Boak, P.Mich. V introd., pp. 1-3.

4 *φόρων γραφίου*: In P.Grenf. II 41 (= Mitteis, *Chrest.* 183) someone offers to lease the *graphion* in Soknopaiu Nesos for 288 drachmas a year.

Translation: "Hermias to Tesenuphis, nomographos of Soknopaiu Nesos, greetings. I have received from you, from that which you owe on rent for the records office for the present second year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus (Germanicus) Emperor, three payments through Arabas . . ."

Nr. 2215 List of Temples (Pl. III)

P. 21899
 20.5 × 37.5 cm

Arsinoite nome
 113/114 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, lower 2.5 cm; first intercolumnar space 2 cm, second 2.5 cm. Below the last line of col. III would have extended a margin of 14 cm if the papyrus had not broken off.

The light brown papyrus, riddled with holes and broken off along the left side and across most of the bottom, preserves portions of three columns of writing in an upright and practiced script. To column I a new piece has been attached since I first researched this document for my dissertation, so that there is now lacking less than half the width for the especially critical first through fifth lines. In column II are still missing two or three lines from the bottom

(see col. II 19 note). Column III is complete except for minor lacunae. A small fragment measuring 1.8 × 0.5 cm I have not succeeded in placing anywhere.

These three columns appear to constitute a partial census of priests and pastophoroi in the divisions of Heraklides and Polemon. However, the purpose for which the list was compiled and the relationship of the various sections of the document to one another remain quite obscure, despite the appearance of new information in the first column. There, on the broken edge of the papyrus, the first word reads *ἐξυφαίνοντος*, and in the ensuing lines there is mention of the performance of rites and a first census entry, apparently set apart from the succeeding entries in the two divisions of Heraklides and Polemon. These bits of information are provocative: who is weaving and what is he weaving? What is the geographical reference of the first census entry if it is not in the division of Heraklides or Polemon? And ultimately, what does weaving have to do with the exact number of priests and pastophoroi in only certain temples of two divisions in the Arsinoite nome?

Linen-weaving, it is known, was a temple monopoly under the Ptolemies. However, under the Romans the temples probably lost the monopoly, although some production was maintained (C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels, 1939, pp. 102-104; E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, *Archiwum filologiczne* 9 (1965) 95-98; J. A. S. Evans, "Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple", *YCS* 17 (1961) 226-228; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I, pp. 300ff.). This new reference to the occupation is unfortunately too fragmentary to be of much value until its position in the context of the whole document can be established.

After these five lines of introductory material, the listing begins with towns and temples of the division of Heraklides. The list is peculiar in its selectivity and its restriction to temples of the crocodile cult (although this is not surprising since Suchos, the crocodile god, was the patron deity of the Fayum), and it mentions relatively few shrines, compared with the number where the god is known to have been worshipped (see W. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte* and P. Bottigelli, "Repertorio topografico dei templi e sacerdoti dell'Egitto tolemaico", *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 177ff.). Furthermore, of all the temples attested in a given town (see Bottigelli's and Rübsam's lists) only one, sometimes two (col. II 7), are recorded in this account. In the case of Karanis, the second temple might not have existed when this list was drawn up. In the case of Tebtynis, where a cult to Sokopichonsis is attested from the second century A.D., its omission from this list may be due to its lower rank among the city's shrines (J. A. S. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 15). In fact, it is likely, though by no means certain, that this list is limited to *logima hiera*, that is, temples of the first class (but even this designation is an unclarified concept: W. Uxkull-Gyllenband, *BGU* V, p. 81), for of the five temples which are known also from other sources, four belong without any doubt to this class. The temple of Soknobrasis and Soknokonnis is *logimon* (P.Soknabr. III 4;

XIII 9) as is the temple of Soknebtynis in Tebtynis (P. Tebt. 293.6), the temple of Isis and Sarapis in Nabla (P. Lond. 345), and the temple of Soknopaios in Soknopaiu Nesos (SB 6.3). At present nothing indicates that the temple of Petesuchos in Karanis was not *logimon* — but the *argumentum ex silentio* should not be accepted as positive proof.

Before the date, concluding the census list is a fragment of a quotation to the effect that the priests of neighboring temples undertake the supervision of rites in temples where there are no priests. The import of this to the document as a whole is just as obscure as that of the first five lines. Perhaps the motif of ritual (col. I 3: *θηρησκεύεται* and col. III 2: *θηρησκεῖται*) somehow unites the beginning and conclusion of the document. But this is only a conjecture.

Column I

- [± 17 ἐ]ξυφαίνοντος τ[. . .] τῶν θεῶν
[]ν καὶ ἱερὰ λογ. εἰμαι λ[ι]μναῖον γαι
[± 15 θρ]ησκεύεται τὸ ἱερὸν [.] ρωνπε
[συννάων θεῶν]ν οὗ εἰσι χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων ἱερεῖς
5 [. . παστοφόροι ὁμοίως) . .] κώμ[η]ς [± 8]ως β-
[Ηρακλείδου] μερίδος· Νά[β]λας ἱερὸν
[e.g. Ίσιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος κα]ὶ Ἀρποκ[ρά]τον καὶ [τῶν]ν συν-
[νάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι ἱερεῖς] χω[ρ]ίς ἀφηλ[ί]κων ἱε-
[ραστοφόροι ὁμοίως . . . Α]θήρως ἱερ[ο]ν Σούχου
10 [καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι] χω[ρ]ίς ἀφηλ[ί]κων γ-
[ραστοφόροι ὁμοίως) ± 8]. Σαράπιδος κα[α]ὶ Ἀρ-
[± 17]χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων
[Σοκνοπαίου]ν Νήσ[ου] ἱερὸν Σοκνο-
[παίου] θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ Ίσιδος Ν[ε]φορ[ο]σῆ[τος]
15 [καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν οὗ] εἰσι ἱερεῖς] χω[ρ]ίς
[ἀφηλ[ί]κων . . παστοφόροι ὁμοίως . .]- [.] τα
[καὶ τῶν σ]υνν[ά]ων
[] . . . ἀπο
[καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν
20 [] ἱερὸν

Column II

Σοκνεβερεῖτος καὶ τῶν σ[υ]ν[γ]νάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι
ἱερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων κα [π]αστοφό[ρ]οι ὁμοίως
λᾶ· Πτολεμαῖδος Ὁρμου [ἱ]ερ[ο]ν Νεφερωτ[ος] καὶ
τῶν συννάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι [ἱ]ερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων

- 5 γ παστοφόροι ὁμοίως ᾱ· Περσεῶν ἱερὸν Νεφώτου
καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι ἱερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων
ἰᾶ· Βακχιάδος ἱερὰ β Σοκνεβερεῖτος [καὶ Σο]κνεβε-
κενέως καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ὧν εἰσι ἱερεῖς [χ]ω-
ρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων καὶ παστοφόροι ξᾶ· Κα[ρα]νιδ[ος]
10 ἱερὸν Πετесούχου καὶ τῶν σ[υ]ν[γ]νάων θεῶν οὗ εἰσι <ἱερεῖς>
χω[ρ]ίς ἀφηλ[ί]κων νδ- παστ[ο]φόροι ὁμοίως γ-
Πολέμωνος με[ρ]ίδος· Τεβτύνεως ἱερὸν Σοκ-
νεβτύνεως καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ο[ὗ] εἰσι
ἱερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων μ παστοφόροι ὁμοίως μ-
15 Ναρμούθεως ἱερὸν Σοκνοώπεως καὶ Ἐρμο[ύ]θεως
καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν [οὗ] εἰσι ἱερεῖς] χω[ρ]ίς ἀφηλ[ί]κων .
ραστοφόροι ὁμοίως]· Μούχ[ε]φ[ος] ἱερὸν . . . ομ[. . .] νου-
βεφ[ος] καὶ τῶν [σ]υν[γ]νάων θεῶν
[οὗ] εἰσι ἱερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων καὶ παστοφόροι ἰδ-

Column III

- [ἱ]ερεῖς μὴ εἶναι τὰς δὲ τῶν
θεῶν θρησκευαί[ε]ς τοὺς {δὲ}
σύνεγγους αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς
ποιεῖσθαι {τὰς θρησκ[ε]ίας}·
5 μεθ' ἑτερα· (ἔτους) ιζ
Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρονα
Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Δακικοῦ

Column I

- 1-2 τ[ὰς] τῶν θεῶν [στολὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ] κατ.: "One would expect something of this sort to have stood in the lacunae", H. C. Youtie, letter, September, 1973.
2 λογ. εἰμαι: 1. λόγ[ι]μα? The trace after gamma might simply be part of epsilon, if the letter was written over a tiny fold in the papyrus.
λ[ι]μναῖον γαι: or -παιονσαι.
3 θρ]ησκεύεται: The reading θρ]ησκεύεται is also possible.
[.] ρωνπε: The name of a deity? [θ]εων does not seem likely.
4 συννάων θεῶν: These are the various unspecified deities whose shrines are maintained and whose cults are celebrated in the temple of the major deity. See Gilliam, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias", *YCS* 10 (1947) 185 and A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός", *HSCP* 41 (1930) 1-62 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Zeph Stewart, Oxford, 1972, vol. I, pp. 202-251.
χωρὶς ἀφηλ[ί]κων: Cf. BGU 258.11: φ[ί] προγίνονται θ' ἀπὸ ἀφηλ[ί]κων. So called were the sons of priests whose births automatically made them candidates for the priesthood (Otto, *op. cit.*, I pp. 35, 211).

- 5 [όμ(οίως)]: *scil.* χωρίς ἀφηλίκων. It has long been debated whether or not the position of pastophoros was inherited (Otto, *op.cit.*, I p. 245; Uxkull-Gyllenband, BGU V, p. 90). This text, by excluding the offspring of the pastophoroi from the membership tally in each temple, indicates that they, like the sons of priests, must have been considered candidates for investiture as soon as they had reached the mandatory age. PSI 1145, however, presents evidence to the contrary.
- 6-7 Νά[βλας] . . . [Ταυδος κτλ.]: The restoration is based on P.Lond. II 345.3-4 (p. 114). See P.Tebt. II, p. 390, where the reading is corrected.
- Αρποκ[ρά]τον: The putative kappa resembles more eta or nu.
- 9 Α[θή]ρεως: This is the second appearance of the town in a Roman papyrus; see P. Sijpesteijn, "A List of Villages in the Arsinoite Nome", *BASP* 10 (1973) 28.
- 10 I. οὐ εἰς] ιερεῖς χω[ρὶς] κτλ.
- 11-12 Αρ[ποκρά]τον or Αρ[ψενήσιος], an associate deity of Sarapis in BGU 1197 and 1198 (both 1st c. B.C., Busiris of the Herakleopolite nome), are possible restorations.
- 12 The lacuna is too short to accommodate the full phrase καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν οὐ εἰς ιερεῖς.
- 13 This lacuna is likewise too short.
- 13-14 Σοκνοπαῖο]ν Νήσ[ου] κτλ.: Soknopaios is, of course, eponymous with the town, and according to Bottigelli, *op.cit.*, p. 189, the epithet is inseparable. Isis Nephorses is often associated with his cult—in fact, has no separate existence apart from the mention of it (*ibid.*, p. 188).

Column II

- 1 Σοκνεβεγείτος: The name, unless it is a variant spelling of the restored [Σοκ]νεβηῆς in P.Tebt. 6.3, is unknown. Analogous to other appellatives of Suchos, it can be analyzed: Suchos, lord (nb) of (a town?). Another possible reading is Σοκνεβσηεῖτος.
- 2 κα: The supralinear horizontal stroke distinguishing the number has probably been lost in the break above the letters.
- 3 Pap. Πτολεμαῖδος: Regarding this village, see Hagedorn—Youtie, P. Petaus, introd., pp. 22-25.
- Νεφερώτ[ος]: This is a crocodile deity, whose worship is attested in Euhemeria and Karanis, but whose temple in Ptolemais Hormu is otherwise unknown (see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, s.v.).
- 5 Νεφώντον: SB 23.6 (inscription) is the sole witness to this deity. According to Epiphanius, *de vita proph.* 8, the name means crocodile (see Bonnet, *op.cit.*, s.v.). The temple in Persea is not otherwise attested.
- 7 ιερά β: Although only one temple was excavated in Bacchias (Grenfell and Hunt, P.Fay., pp. 36-38), the archives of Soknobraisis make it clear that there were two *hiera*—regardless of whether each god enjoyed his own private building or not (Gilliam, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-185; Rübsam, *op.cit.*, pp. 62ff.).
- Σοκνεβεγείσιος: I. Σοκνοβραΐσιος: Several etymologies have been proposed for this name, most recently by Jean Yoyotte, "Processions géographiques mentionnant le Fayoum et ses localités", *BIFAO* 61 (1962) 133-134, who explains it as Sbk nb r3-ḥs3: "Suchos, lord with a terrible mallet".
- Σο[κ]ναβεβκενέως: Cf. P.Fay. 18. The form appearing here for the second time in papyrus is a variant spelling of Σοκνοκοννέως and has been most successfully analyzed by Yoyotte, *op.cit.*, pp. 117-119, as Sbk nb Gnw: Suchos, lord of Genout—Genout being the Pharaonic name for Kom el-Atl or Bacchias. I am indebted to K.-T. Zauzich for bringing this article to my attention.
- Three of the texts of the Temple of Soknobraisis archives (P.Soknabr. 1-3 = SB 9319, 9320, 9337) relate to the joint worship of Soknobraisis and Soknokonnīs.

- 9 ξά: This combined figure is approximately what might be expected since the number of priests for the cult of Soknokonnīs was twenty-two or twenty-three in 116 A.D. (P.Soknabr. 1.21-42).
- 9-10 Κα[α]νίδ[ος] ιερόν Πετσοόχον: Cf. BGU 707.2-4: ιερόν ὄντος ἐν κόμῃ Καρανίδι Πετσοόχον καὶ Πνεφερώτος (ca. 180 A.D.). See Grenfell and Hunt, P.Fay., pp. 30-32. A. E. R. Boak, *Karanis Reports*, treats two temples uncovered at Karanis; on the South Temple, i.e. of Pnepheros and Petesuchos, see pp. 19-55. The omission of the North Temple from this list may signify that it had not yet been built, so providing a tentative *terminus post quem* more definite than that of the Karanis report (p. 15), or merely that the temple was not *logimon* (pp. 13-14).
- 11 γ: Only a vertical bar remains which strongly resembles the left portion of a nu, kappa, or gamma.
- 12-13 Σοκνεβτύνεως: On the Temple of Soknebtynīs in Tebtynīs, see J. A. S. Evans, *op.cit.*
- 14 ιερεῖς . . . μ: P.Tebt. 298.11 (107/8 A.D.) begins to list fifty tax-exempt priests from this temple before it breaks off; PSI 1146, written about nine years later, also records fifty priests. In view of the discrepancy between these contemporary witnesses and the Berlin papyrus, it is likely that the latter errs.
- 15 Σοκνωόπewς: I. Σοκνωόπewς: One Narmuthite appears with this name in P.Merton 65.3.
- Sokonopīs and Hermuthes are associated in various inscriptions in an Isis temple in the nearby town of Ibion Eikosipentaruron (SB 8127, 8128, 8139-41). Cf. Bottigelli, *op.cit.*, p. 220. On the temple at Narmuthis, see P.Tebt. 26.19 (114 B.C.) where there is mention of a *hieron* without any further specification; it is not impossible that this is the same temple, in which case this papyrus would be the first to cite the name.
- 16 Following the last word, where one expects the number, is a small break. There is, however, no trace of any supralinear, which is as a rule quite long and would easily bridge this small gap and extend well beyond it.
- 17-18 This is the first evidence for a temple in Muchis. The lost name here might possibly be a variant spelling of Sokonnobchnubīs, known from one inscription alone, SB 4628 (see Bonnet, *op.cit.*, s.v. *Suchos*, p. 758). However, the letter traces to the left of omicron are difficult to construe as Σοκ. Before nu remains what could be the right foot of a chi.
- 19ff. Two, perhaps three, lines are lost—enough space for one more tally as well as the subject for the sentence continued in col. III.

Column III

- 1-5 The correct interpretation of these lines I owe to H. C. Youtie. As shown by μεθ' ἔτερα in line five, column III is what remains of an excerpt from a document that is being cited. The part that is preserved belonged to a report on temples where there were no priests ([ι]ερεῖς μὴ εἶναι). Other priests serving in temples near these (σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν) were seeing to it that divine services were not neglected.
- 3 I. ιερέας.

Translation: (col. II 1-5) "... the Temple of Soknebeneis and the associate deities, of which there are 21 priests (excluding minors) and, similarly, 31 pastophoroi. At Ptolemais Hormu, the Temple of Nepheros and the associate deities, of which there are 3 priests (excluding minors) and, similarly, 1 pastophoros", etc.

Nr. 2216 Report of Proceedings before the High Priest (Pl. IV)

P. 25103

Soknopaiu Nesos

+ P. Gen. inv. 260

156 A.D.

Upper margin 1.7 cm, left 3.5 cm, lower 2.7 cm. Folded about six times vertically and two times horizontally. The brittle, russet-colored papyrus consists of some half dozen fragments, the largest of which measures 31.5 x 10.2 cm. The script is a rapid cursive, written in fine traces and slanting sharply to the right. On the verso is a single line of Demotic, written parallel to the fibers. K.-T. Zauzich has read and translated it as follows: 'h1 Hr-pjt Pa-qš hn' 'nh = f hn' St3[.t = w]-t3]-wtj; "... des Harpagathes, des Sohnes des Pakysis, und des Anchophis und des Stotoetis . . ."

In 1909, Jules Nicole published P. grecs inédits IV 1 = SB 15, fragments of a report of proceedings regarding the circumcision of three boys. The fragments presented here restore much of the missing left half of that document. From parallel records Nicole was able to reconstruct the sense of the text, so that the only new bits of information provided by the Berlin fragments are the names of one of the boys and of the mother, and the exposure of Theodoros, alias Ptolemaios, royal secretary of the division of Themistes, as a ghost-royal secretary (see lines 4-5 note).

Pakysis, son of Satabus, presents his three sons, Harpagathes, Anchophis, and Stotoetis, to the high priest Klaudios Agathokles for circumcision. He brings with him a letter from the strategos addressed to the high priest stating that he has fulfilled the conditions necessary for circumcision. Upon reading the letter the high priest inquires if the boys have any blemishes. They do not; and so he gives his permission for their circumcision.

Parallel texts include BGU 82, 347; SPP XXII 51; P. Tebt. 292-3; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 76-77; J. Schwartz, "Sur une demande de prêtres de Socnopéonèse", *ASAE* 44 (1944) 235 ff. = SB 9027; and P. grecs inédits IV 2 and 3 = SB 16, 17. P. grecs inédits IV 1 is underlined here.

[.]. ρθα[

]

[Π]ακύσιος [Σαταβοῦτος προσαγαγόντος υἱοῦ] [ὃς ἐ[αυτοῦ] Ἀρπαγάθην καὶ

υἱὸς ἐαν-

Ἀνχῶφιν καὶ Στο-

[περιτε]μεῖν αὐτούς

[[τ]οῦτῳ] δι[

][. τοπ[.] ηθ[. . .] νδι] διὰ τὸ παρατεθεῖ-

σθαι τὰς τοῦ γέ-

στρατηγῶ

γονος αὐτῶ[ν ἀποδείξεις τῶ τοῦ νομοῦ] [βασιλικῶ] [καὶ ἀναγν]ωσθείσης [τῆ]ς

ἐπιστολῆς Θεοδώρου

5 στρατηγῶ Ἀρσιν[ο]ί[του Ἡρακλείδου] μερίδο[ς] διὰ [Πτολε]μαίου βα[σιλ]ικ[οῦ]

διαδεχομένου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στ[ρατηγίαν]

γρ[αμματέως] Θεμίστου οὕτως ἐχούσης

[Θ]εόδωρ[ος σ]τρα[τηγὸς Ἀρσινόου] Ἡρακλείδ[ου με]ρίδος διὰ [Πτο]λεμαί[ου]

γρ[αμματέως] βα[σιλ]ικ[οῦ] ^{Θεμιστ(ου) μερίδ(ος)} διαδε-

χομένου τὰ κατ[ὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν] Κλαυδίῳ Ἀγ[αθοκλεῖ] τῷ τ[ιμ]ωτάτῳ

χαίρειν Πακῦσις

Σαταβοῦτος τοῦ

± 18

]ανεφ[ρεμμε-

± 10

Σα[ταβοῦτος] ἐ[ρ]εὺς τρίτης φυ[λ]ῆς

[τ]ῆς Σο[κ]νοπαίου [θεοῦ] μεγάλου καὶ τῶν συννάων [θεῶν] ἐ[ρ]ο[ῦ]

λο[γ]ίμου τοῦ ὄν-

10 τος ἐν κόμῃ Σο[κ]νοπαίου Νήσον ἐπέ[δωκε] [μοι] βιβλ[ίδιον] βο[υλ]όμενος

ἱερα[τικῶς]

περιτεμεῖν υἱ[οὺς] ἐαυτοῦ Ἀρπα[γάθην] [καὶ] Ἀνχ[ῶφιν] [καὶ] Σ[το]το[ῦ]τῳ ἐκ

μητρὸς Θα-

σῆτος τῆς Ἀρπαγάθου [± 5] θ[. . .] αὐτῶν [. . .] καὶ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ

εἶναι ἱερατικοῦ

γένους δι[ὰ] τακτοῦ πα[ρ]έθετο ἀν[τίγραφον] κατ' οἱ[κίαν] ἀπογραφῆς θ[ε] (ἔτους)

Ἀντωνείνου τοῦ

κυρίου κα[ὶ] εἰκονίσα[το] [. . . (ἔτει)] Θεοῦ Ἀδρι[α]ν[οῦ] ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῶν τοῦ

νομοῦ δημοσί-

15 ων λόγ[ω]ν βιβλιοφυλάκ[ω]ν . . . ἀντίγραφον κολλήματος ἐπιγεννήσεως τῶν

παίδων

συνθεμ[έ]λων [ἐπ]ὶ τ[α]ῖς ἀπο[δείξεσ]ιν Π[ε]τροῦ οὐδ' οὐχ τοῦ κα[ὶ] Π[το]λεμαίου

Ὀννώφρεως

[σ]τολιστοῦ Σοῦχου θεοῦ [μ]εγάλου καὶ τῶν συννάων θ[ε] (ἔτων) καὶ

διαδόχου προφητεῖ-

[α]ς τῶν ἐν [Ἀρσ]ινόῃ θ[ε] (ἔτων) ± 15 Π[ανεφ]ρέμμεως τοῦ Ὄρου καὶ

Σαταβοῦτος Ὄ-

[ρο]ν τοῦ Σατ[αβο]ῦτος καὶ [± 10 τοῦ Ἀ]νχῶφως καὶ Τεσενούφως

Τεσενούφως

20 [καὶ] Ἀρπαγ[άθου] ± 7 τῶν [β]ερέων τῆς κόμης· γράφω σοι, τιμώτατε,

παραγ-

γείλας τῷ Πακῦσι ἡ[κ]ειν μ[ετὰ] τῶν παίδων· εἰσὶν μέντοι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς υἱ (ἔτος)

τοῦ

κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀντων[είνου] Καίσαρος κατὰ τὴν ὥς πρόκειται γενομένην αὐτῶν ἐπι-

γέννησιν [ὁ μ]ὲν Ἀρπαγ[άθης] ἔτων η', ὁ δὲ Ἀνχῶφης ἔτων ε', ὁ δὲ Στοτοῦτῆς

ἔτων β'· ἐρῶ (σθαί) σε

[εὖχ]ο(μαι), τιμώ(τατε)· (ἔτους) υἱ Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου

Ἀδρια[νοῦ] Ἀντωνείνου Σ[εβ]αστοῦ

25 Ε[ὐ]δοῦ Φα[μ]ενῶθ [. . .] μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν Ἀγα[θ]οκλῆς ἐπὶθετο, εἴ τινα

σημεῖα ἔχουσιν

οἱ παῖδες ἐπὶ τοῦ σώμα[ος] ^{Ἀμούνιος} [Ἰμούθου] ἱερογραμματέ[ως] εἰπόντος ἀσήμους
 αὐτοὺς εἶναι, Κλαύδιο(ς)
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς [καὶ ἐ]πὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ [ἐ]ρῶν π[αρασ]ημειωσάμενος
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ
 Πακύσι εἶπεν· δύναντα[ι καθ' αὐ] ἀξιοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ σου [Ἀρπαγάθης] καὶ Ἀνχῶ[φης]
 καὶ Στοτοήτις περι-
 τ[μ]ηθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἔθ[ος].]

- 2 What Nicole designated as line two on his transcription is now demonstrably the superscript to line three. Otherwise the line numbering remains the same throughout.

Ἀρπαγάθης: His name is only partially preserved on the Geneva fragments. Given the high frequency of both names, I will not proceed any further than merely to point out the appearance in BGU 347 of a Harpagathes, son of Pakysis, who brings his son Pakysis for circumcision in 171 A.D. Also a Harpagathes, son of Pakysis, grandson of Satabus, the mother being Thases, is cited by Wessely, *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, p. 89. Finally, a Stotoetis, son of Pakysis, grandson of Satabus, appears in BGU 433. See also 2242.9–10.

- 3 According to the parallels one would expect in the lacuna something like καὶ ἀξιόσαντος ἐπιτραπῆναι περιτεμεῖν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ κτλ.

Above the tau of τό is the downward sloping tail of sigma which is evenly divided between the two fragments.

τάς: Nicole τὰ

- 4 [τῆ]ς: Nicole τῆς

- 4–5 Θεόδωρον στρατηγῶ κτλ.: In Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, pp. 62, 71, and Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 53, one finds: Θεόδωρος ὁ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος βασ. γρ. Θεμ. μερ. διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν (τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος). The only reference given is SB 15 = P. grecs inédits IV 1. With the appearance of the document's missing left half, Nicole's conjectural restoration is proven to be false. Theodoros, strategos of the division of Heraklides, is well known from other documents; see Henne, pp. 9, 54; Mussies, "Liste des stratèges", no. 75; Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 39.

- 5 [Πτολε]μαῖον κτλ.: Mussies, no. 382; Bastianini, p. 39. This document extends by one year the tenure of Ptolemaios as deputy strategos of the division of Heraklides.

- 10 βο[υλ]όμενος: Nicole βουλόμενος

- 11–12 Θασήτος τῆς Ἀρπαγάθης: Her name is at last completed by the Berlin fragment.

- 13 δι[ὰ] τακτοῦ: This expression appears to be otherwise unattested. τακτός here can only mean a personal agent introduced by the preposition διὰ. The obscure official title διατάκτης (SB 6026; P. Oslo 12 III 16) is here out of the question.

- 14ff. Wilcken's announcement (*Archiv* 5 (1913) 435) that here for the first time the state records office is called βιβλιοθήκη τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ δημοσίων λόγων—wherein he lays special weight on the appearance of τοῦ νομοῦ—is for naught. All three instances he cites (P. grecs inédits IV 1–3) will show βιβλιοθήκη to be a restoration.

- 15 ... ἀ]ντίγραφον: In the lacuna stood undoubtedly καί, with the verb παρῆντο left unexpressed.

- 16 συνθεμ[έ]των [ἐπ]ὶ τ[α]ῖς ἀπο[δείξε]σιν: Cf. SPP XXII 51.4: συνθεμένων ταῖς ἀποδείξεις (l. -εσιν).

- 17 [μ]εγά[λου] μεγάλου: A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen, 1923⁴, p. 289 n. 3 and G. Ghedini, "Di alcuni elementi religiosi pagani nell'epistole private greche dei papiri", *Studia della Scuola Papirologica* 2 (1917) 65, briefly discuss Egyptian and Hebrew parallels for this reduplication.

- 16–18 Π[ε]ρ[ι]οσόχου τοῦ καὶ Π[ε]ρ[ι]ολεμαίου Ὀννόφρεως κτλ.: He appears in SPP XXII 51.9; P. Straßb. graec. 60 II 7 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 77 (Soknopaiu Nesos, after 159 A.D.).

- 18 Πανεφρέμειος τοῦ Ὄρου: He also appears in P. Straßb. graec. 60 II 9–10 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 77 (Soknopaiu Nesos, after 159 A.D.).

- 20 τῶν .]β[ι] ἱερέων: The total number of priests in the village; the aforementioned are a mere selection.

- 25 Until this point the syntactical construction has been a subordinate one—a series of genitive absolutes: προσαγαρόντος . . . [ἀξιόσαντος?] . . . ἀναγνωσθείσης—followed by the direct quote. The writer has in the meantime forgotten the subordination and instead of immediately introducing the main verb ἐπύθετο, he begins a new sentence with the prepositional phrase μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν.

- 26–27 Κλαύδιο(ς) Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς: For a list of the high priests of Egypt and a selective bibliography, see G. Parássoglou, "A Prefectural Edict Regulating Temple Activities", *ZPE* 13 (1974) 32ff.

- 27 ἐ]πί: Nicole ἐπὶ

- 29 κατὰ τὸ ἔθ[ος]: Circumcision was a time-honored, perhaps even law-ordained, custom in Egypt; see H. D. Schmitz "τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri", diss. Köln, 1970, pp. 27, 81.

Translation: "Pakysis, (son of Satabus, having produced) his sons Harpagathes and Anchophis and Stotoetis, (and having requested permission to circumcise) them because he deposited the (proofs) of their lineage (with the) strategos (of the nome, and) with the letter of Theodoros, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the division (of Heraklides) through Ptolemaios, (royal secretary of the division) of Themistes, acting strategos, having been read as follows: 'Theodoros, strategos of the (Arsinoite nome) the division of Heraklides, through Ptolemaios, royal secretary of the division of Themistes, acting (strategos), to Klaudios (Agathokles), his most honored, greetings. Pakysis, son of Satabus, grandson of . . . , a priest of the third tribe of Soknopaios (the great, great god, and of the associate) deities of the famous temple in the village Soknopaiu (Nesos), has submitted (to me) an application, desirous of ceremonially circumcising (his) sons Harpagathes, Anchophis, (and) Stotoetis, their mother being Thases, daughter of Harpagathes . . . and as proof of their being of priestly lineage, he has (deposited) through the appointed agent a copy of the house-to-house census for the 9th year of Antoninus the lord, and he was registered with a description (in the -th year) of Divus Hadrianus in the roll of the keepers of the public records of the nome, (and he has deposited) a copy of the children's birth-certificate, with Petosuchos, alias Ptolemaios, son of Onnophris, stolistes of Suchos, the great, (great) god, and of the associate (deities), and deputy of the prophecy of the deities in Arsinoite . . . Panephremmis, son of Horos, and Satabus, son of Horos, grandson of Satabus, and . . . son of Anchophis, and Tesenuphis, son of Tesenuphis, and Harpagathes . . . (from the -)2 priests of the village, agreeing upon the evidence. I write you, most honored, having ordered Pakysis to come with his children. According to their aforementioned birth certificates, in the present 19th year of our lord Antoninus Caesar, they are Harpagathes 8 years old, Anchophis

5 years old, and Stotoetis 2 years old. Farewell, most honored. Year 19 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth—. After reading it Agathokles inquired if the children had any blemishes on their body. When Amunis, the priests' scribe, said they were without blemish, Klaudios Agathokles, the high priest (and) superintendant of the temples in Egypt, countersigning the letter, said to Pakysis: 'Your sons, Harpagathes, Anchophis and Stotoetis, are able, (according to) your request, to be circumcised in keeping with the custom.'"

Nr. 2217 Temple Inventory (Pl. V)

P. 25120 recto
20.5 × 20.2 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
after 161 A.D.

Upper margin 1.7 cm, lower 2.6 cm, intercolumnar space ca. 2 cm. The papyrus is a medium dark brown in color and coarse-textured. Portions of two columns are preserved. From the first column are lacking approximately eight lines from the top; from the sixteen remaining lines about half of their length has broken off from the left. The second column has lost about a third of its text from the right and a couple of lines from the bottom. The remaining text is here and there abraded but is for the most part well preserved.

The script is a large and facile one, freely flowing, and leaning heavily towards the right. It may be compared to (and may even be identical to) the hand(s?) of P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1. Boswinkel's opinion notwithstanding, I am hard put to distinguish two hands in that document and am inclined to ascribe the Berlin fragments as well the Vienna fragments to one and the same hand. The differences which Boswinkel notes (letter, December 19, 1974), such as the narrow thetas of col. II and the broader ones of col. III, the forms of epsilon in col. II and III 1, 2, the form of zeta in II 10 and III 10, seem to me to be not so much characteristic of two different styles as minor variants and deviations by the same hand.

The text preserved on this papyrus is an approximate copy of P. graec. Vindob. 2340 R^o, discussed but not further identified by Wessely in *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, pp. 58ff., where he called it simply R 8. Wilcken also saw the document and mentioned it in his *Gr. Ostraka* I, p. 617. Finally Boswinkel once and for all published the entire text in P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 (= SB 10281).

In the Berlin papyrus all of the first column and the first seven lines of the second are new material, but from then on the text can be compared almost word for word with P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1, col. II - col. III 7. Restorations derived from that text I have added *exempli gratia*.

The only new and significant information that the Berlin papyrus reveals regards the dating. In the Vienna papyrus col. III 2 appears the *terminus post*

quem for the compilation of the inventory—138 A.D. Now, however, from col. I 7 of the Berlin papyrus, it is evident that the document was written after 161 A.D. For further discussion on the interpretation of the text see Boswinkel P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 introduction and notes.

On the verso, in twelve lines by a different hand, is a list of priests belonging to a phyle whose number is lost (2219).

Column I

-] traces [
] . κος προχ . . [
] Αρ[π]ο[κ]ράτου[
] ζώδια χ(αλκᾶ) β[
5] . ς ἐκ τῆς . νοη[
] ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φ . . . γ
] . ς .
τ] ῶ ε (ἔτει) Θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίου
] μένων ἄλλων τῶν ἀν-
] . ι . ησιω Ἐρωσ χ(αλκοῦς) α-
10] . . . νων κρίκον, δίκλειδ(ες?)
] . άτης χ(αλκοῦς) ἐπὶ βάσει χ(αλκῇ) καθηλ(ωμένη) βάσ(ε)ι λιθ(ινη)
] . ς χ(αλκοῦς) μικρ[ό]ς, κοσμάριοι ἀργυρ(ᾶ)
] - ἀριθ(μῶ?) κς-, λίθοι β- εἰς μὲν
] . ης στέφ(άνια) ἀργ(υρᾶ) β- ἔχοντα φύλλα
15] . . [.] . εγ() ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ π . εν
] - τὰ δὲ δύο σεληνάρια ὀγκ(ιῶν) ια- ις =

Column II

- [. .] ψηφοὶ ἐπεγράφησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ξυλ(ιν-) . [
[.] νθεων ζ- καὶ ἐν ἱερῷ Διοσκοῦρων
[ἐ]κτὸς περιβόλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ . [
[τ] ᾶς ταφᾶς κορκοδείλων ἐν θήκαις [
5 [.] . νιωνες ξύλινοι, λυχνεῖαι χαλκ[αῖ
] . ισκ() ξυλ(ιν-) ἐν ῶ . . [. .] . κ() περιεχερ[υσω(μέν-)
[. .] κ() οὐδὲν ὑποσχ(ών?), καὶ περὶ τὴν . . . [ἱερὸν
[. .] φημιος ἐν ῶ ἀνδριάντες λίθ[ινοι ζ-, καὶ ἐν Νήσῳ Γυναικῶν]
λεγο(μένη) ἱερὸν ἐν ῶ ναὸς Εἰσιδος Νεφρέ[μμιδος, ναὸς ξύλ(ινος) περιεχερυσω-
(μένος)]
10 ἔσφρα(γισμένος) ἔχο(ν) ζεῦχο(ς) κοπι(ώνων) ξυλ(ινων), κα[ὶ] ἔ]τερος [ναὸς
Ἀρποκράτου Θεοῦ]
ξύλ(ινος) περιεχερυσω(μένος) Ἀρποκράτ[ης] ξύλ(ινος) ᾱ . . [± 20]

- καθηλω(μέν-), σπονδ(εῖα) χαλκᾱ δ-, ἔτερος .εω . . [± 20]
 θυμιατήριον α- χαλκοῦν) καθηλω(μένον), Δικαιος[ύνη καὶ μασθός, ἀμφοτέρα]
 [χαλκ(ᾱ), λαβίδια χαλκᾱ] γ-, καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπ[όλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδον Φρεμει]
 15 [Σο]κνοπαιδίου λεγόμενον ἐν ᾧ ναὸς ξύλ(ινος) περι[κεχρυσω(μένος), καὶ ἐν τῇ
 Νήσῳ]
 ἱερὸν Ἰ[σ]ιδ[ος] Νεφρέμμιδος ἐν ᾧ ἀνδρ[ιάντες λίθινοι γ-, ληνεῖα]
 χαλκ(ῇ), πύργιναι β-, σάλ(κ)ικ(ες) χαλκαῖ β- . . [
 [. . .] μεν ὑποκείσθαι ἡμεῖν [κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρικά μὲν, ἀπερ' ἐστὶν χωρὶς]
 [τῶν ἀπὸ κ]β (ἔτους) τοῦ καὶ α (ἔτους) Θεοῦ Ἀδρια[οῦ οὐκ ἐτι τετελεσ(μένων) καὶ
 ὑπ' ἔσχατον τό-]
 20 [μου τοῦδε] τοῦ λόγον ἐν ἰδίᾳ τάξει τετα[γμένων]
 [Σο]κνο(παίου) Νή[σ]ου . . [
 [] traces []

Column I

- 2] . κος or] . μος
 προχέ[ριον]: However, the vertical hasta on the papyrus edge does not extend as far below the line as those for iota usually do.
 4 ζόδια: T. Grassi, "Le liste templari", Studi della scuola papirologica Milano IV 4 (1921) 32-34 discusses animal figures.
 5 l. πνοη[] ?
 6] ἐκάστων or] εως τῶν, or] . κος
 φ . . γ: The second letter might be alpha or epsilon, the third lambda.
 7 This line sets 161 A.D. as the *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the list.
 8 αῖ: or αἱ
 9 Ἐρως: The only other mention of a Cupid figure in papyri appears to be P.Tebt. 406.12; cf. Rübsam, *Götter u. Kulte*, p. 213.
 10] . . νων: or] . νον
 κρίκον: See the discussion of this word in T. Grassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34.
 δίκλειδ(ες): According to LSJ the word means "double-folding" as an adjective; as a noun, "folding doors".
 11 Ἀρποκράτης: The eta has been written over an epsilon.
 12 l. κοσμάτια
 16 ις = : I know of no ready interpretation of this figure, unless it is to be understood as the value of the two crescents, i.e. 16 duobols.

Column II

- 1] ψηφοι: There is no other psi on the papyrus to compare with the first letter. Preserved are an extra long vertical, jutting above the line, and the left half of a horizontal cross bar. The faded letter succeeding it may be epsilon.
 τοῦ στρατηγού: Cf. P.Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 col. I 7: τ[οῦ] στρατη[γ]οῦ
 2 [.] νθεων: or [.] νρεων: Thetas and alphas by this hand are sometimes indistinguishable. The lacuna restoration most readily presenting itself is τῶν θεῶν.
 Διοσκούρων: This appears to be the first explicit proof for a temple of the Dioskuroi in Soknopaiu Nesos; SB 8800 is a dedication to the brothers which was found in Dime.

- On the cult of the twin brothers in general, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon Rerumque Sacrarum et Divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium*, Milan, 1974, s.v. Διόσκουροι, and W. von Bissing, "Il culto dei Dioscuri in Egitto", *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 347-357.
 5 [.] νωνες: The letter before nu might be rho, eta or upsilon; however, I find no words with these letter combinations which might possibly designate cult objects.
 5-6 [βω]μίσκ(ος), [ν]αίσκ(ος) are possibilities.
 7 At the end of the line one expects τὴν κόμην, but the papyrus is too shredded to afford a clear reading. The village is Soknopaiu Nesos (see P.Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 col. II 1 note).
 8] φημος: In the Vienna text, one finds at this place the temple of Sarapis Osoromnevis. I am unable to find any deity which has a name with this termination, apart from Zeus Phemios and Athene Phemia (SIG 1014.27), neither of whom are likely candidates in this context.
 10 l. ἔχων
 l. κωπι(ώνων): See P.Lugd.-Bat. XVII col. II 6 note for the interpretation of this word as "handles".
 11 l. ἐν ᾧ Ἀρποκράτης: The letter following ξύλ(ινος) is definitely not pi for περικεχρυσω(μένος) but either lambda or chi.
 12 ἔτερος .εω . . : Definitely not ναός.
 13 Δικαιος[ύνη]: See the extensive note on this figure in P.Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 col. II 11 note.
 15-16 Between these two lines there is by no means room for the entire phrase preserved in the Vienna text col. II 15-16, which states that the temple called the Soknopaidion in Arsinoitōn polis is reserved for the exclusive use of the priests from Soknopaiu Nesos.
 17 l. σάλπιγγ(ες): In the Vienna text there are three, here only two.
 πύργιναι: unknown cult objects; see Boswinkel, *op. cit.*, col. II 17 note.
 17-18 ὁμολογοῦμεν ?
 18 ὑποκείσθαι: Explained by E. Gilliam, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias", *YCS* 10 (1947) 220 n.48 as "a technical term in connection with the income of a temple meaning 'to belong to' or 'to be granted to'".
 19-20 Obviously some form of the phrasing in the Vienna papyrus (col. III 4-6) was also written here; however, in its entirety it is much too long to fit in these lacunae.

Translation: "... of Harpokrates; ... 2 little bronze figures of animals; ... in the 5th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus; ... 1 bronze Cupid; ... (having?) a ring; folding doors ...; ... a bronze Harpokrates (?) on a bronze base nailed onto a stone base; ... a little bronze ...; silver jewelry ...; ... 26 in number (?); 2 stones, the one ...; 2 silver crowns with leaves ...; ... by the strategos ...; ... the two crescents, weighing 11 ounces, worth 16 duobols (?)."

"... registered by the strategos, wooden ...; 7 ... of the gods (?); and in the Temple of the Dioskuroi ...; outside of the precinct of the same temple ... the crocodile mummies in caskets ...; wooden ...; bronze lamps ...; a wooden shrine (?) in which there is a gold-plated ...; ... having nothing under it (?); and near the village (?) ... in which there are (7) stone statues, (and in the) so-called (Gynaikōn Nesos) a temple in which there is a shrine of Isis Nephremmis, (a wooden shrine, gold-plated) and sealed, having a pair of wooden handles, as well as another gold-plated wooden (shrine of the god Harpokrates),

a wooden Harpokrates ...; ... nailed onto ...; 4 bronze offering bowls; another ...; 1 bronze censer, nailed down (?); an image of Dikaiosyne (and a breast, both) bronze; 3 bronze tweezers; and in the metropolis, (in the quarter of Phremei), a so-called Soknopaidion, in which there is a gold-plated wooden shrine, (and in Nesos) a Temple of Isis Nephremmis, in which there are (3) stone statues, a bronze (lamp), 2 fire-pots (?), 2 bronze trumpets ..."

"... that there is granted to us (each year in money, apart from that which has no longer been paid to us since the) 22nd year, that is the 1st year, of the deified Hadrianus, and that which has been entered (at the end of the roll) bearing this calculation in a special list, ... of Soknopaiu Nesos ..."

Nr. 2218 Temple Inventory

P. 25121

11 × 8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos?

2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.2 cm. The light brown papyrus is in a poor state of preservation, having lost indeterminable amounts from three sides and suffered much abrasion on what remains. Numerous large worm holes further complicate decipherment. The hand is a very small, neat, vertical one.

This fragment of a temple inventory appears to list some of the same objects in the same sequence as 2217 and P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1 = SB 10281. It may be an inventory from a different year or a copy of the same inventory compiled for reasons unknown to us.

The restorations, derived from 2217 and P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII 1, are given *exempli gratia*.

]ειον ξύλ[ι]ρον περιεχρ[ω]μένον

]α[... ε]τερον [χ]αλκοῦν, κ[α]ι [ζ]ωδαρίδια, καὶ
θυματήρια

χαλκᾶ, καὶ Δικαιοσύνη, κα[ι] μασθ[ό]ς, ἀμφ[ό]τερος χαλκᾶ, καὶ λαβίδια
παρ'

ἡμεῖν χαλκᾶ .. καὶ ἐν τῇ μ[η]τροπ[ό]λε[ι] ἐπ' ἀ[μ]φ[ό]δον Φρεμει Σοκνοπαιτεῖον
λεγόμενον

5 μενον ἐν ᾧ ναὸς ξύλ(ινος) περι[κε]χρ[ω]σμένος ἐσ[φ]ραγισμένος, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἱερα-
τεύεται

ἔξω ἡμῶν, καὶ]... νήσῳ [...] ἱερὸν Ἰσιδος Νεφρέμμιδος ἐν ᾧ ἀνδριάν-
τες λί-

θινοὶ ..., καὶ λυ]χνεῖα χαλκῆι ...]

]ρεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ .. κίου]

]ν τῶν μὲν ἐπικεκριμ[ένων

10

]εἰκοσι

? Ἀρποκρ[α]τίῳ[ν] μητρο(ός) Τεσενούφεω[ς]

]ης [...] ωμ[.]π[.]

]ν[.] [.]

3]η: Only a vertical hasta remains which could be eta at the end of the name.

6 One expects]ξ[ν τῇ] Νήσῳ [.]

9-10 ἐπικεκριμ[ένων] ...]εἰκοσι: Cf. P. Soknabr. 1 II 18-20: ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἱερέων [τ]ὸ κατ' ἀνδ(ρα) [πάντ]ον ἐπικεκ(ριμένον) ἐπὶ (δραχμαῖς) ἑβ καὶ [δια]γεγρα(φηκότων). Similar is G. Parassoglou, "On Priests and their Affairs in Roman Egypt", *Studia Papyrologica* 12 (1973) 8-11 *passim*. These words refer to the *εἰσκριτικόν*, the fee for admission to the priesthood. Twenty drachmas is attested as the fee for the priests at Soknopaiu Nesos (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 250). See E. Gilliam, P. Soknabr., pp. 203ff., and Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 249ff., for further discussion.

Nr. 2219 List of Priests

P. 25120 verso

20.5 × 20.2 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos?

late 2nd c. A.D.

Upper margin 1.3 cm, lower 8 cm. The large and fluid script runs across the fiber grain. On the recto is the temple inventory 2217.

Twelve priests are listed for a tribe whose number is unfortunately lost.

ψαννοῦφι
]φυλ(ῆς) Σαταβοῦς Στοτοήτ(εως) β- Στοτοήτ(εως) [
].σαρα Στοτοήτ(ις) ——— τοῦ Στοτοήτ(εως) [
]π.λα Στοτοήτ(ις) ——— τοῦ Στοτοήτ(εως) [
].βι Τεσενούφης ——— τοῦ Τεσ[ενού]φεως
5]. Τεσενούφης Πανεφρέμ[μεως
Στοτ[ο]ήτ(ις) ἀδελφός μητ(ρός) .[
]ε Στοτοήτ(ις) Πακῦσι(ος) τοῦ Σατ[± 15]...[
]. [. . .] ις Ἀρπαγάθ(ου) τοῦ Πακῦς[εως ± 10 τ]ῆς Στοτοήτ(εως)
]. Τεσ[εν]ούφης Σαταβοῦτ(ος) τοῦ Τεσ[ενού]φεως . . .] μητ(ρός) . . .]
10].ε Στοτοήτ(ις) Στοτοήτ(εως) νεωτ(έρον) τοῦ Στοτ[ο]ήτ(εως) ± 9]...
Στοτοήτ(εως)[
].ν Ἀρπαγάθ(ης) Εριέως τοῦ Εριέως μητ(ρός) Στοτοήτ(εως) τῆς Στο-
τοήτ(εως) [
Σ[τοτο]ήτ(ις) Ωρον τοῦ Στοτοήτ(εως) γ- μητ(ρός) Σεγάθιος τῆς Στο-
τοήτ(εως) [
]

1 Ψαννοῦφι: *addendum onomasticis*. Cf. P. Lond. III 929.20, 53 (pp. 41, 42): Ψονοῦφης
The beta above the line may simply distinguish Stotoetis from many others (cf. l. 12: Στοτοήτ(εως) γ-), or it may designate this column as the second.

Nr. 2220 Census Return

P. 21706

10.7 × 10.1 cm

Fayum

131–133 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2.5 cm, left 3 cm. This fragment of light brown papyrus has been cut from the upper left corner of the document. Its surface is otherwise in good condition. The script is neat and well-formed with upright, individual letters. Gracing the beginning of the first line is a large pi. An even larger one heads line four.

Apion, son of Apion, and one of the 6475 Greeks, submits his census report for the year 131/2 A.D. to Protarchos, strategos, and Heraklides, komogrammateus.

The main interest of this return lies in the fifth line. Here again in a papyrus appears the class of citizens in the Fayum described as the "6475 Greeks". It has long been evident that they were enrolled in quarters of the metropolis (E. Bickermann, „Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte“, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 43), but this text again confirms the fact that they could reside elsewhere as well (cf. P. Tebt. II 566). Because the fragment was found during Zucker's excavations at Dime (1909/10), it is possible that the village name in line three should be restored as Soknopaiu Nesos, but until there is positive proof (for example, through the identification of Heraklides, l. 2) the lacuna is best left open.

Parallels and discussion can be found in Hombert-Préaux, *Le recensement*, and O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Milan, 1973, p. 179.

Πρωτάρχῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ [δεῖν βασιλικῷ]
γραμματῇ Ἀρσινοίτου Ἡρα[κλείδου μερίδος καὶ]
Ἡρακλείδῃ κομογραμ[ματεῖ]

παρὰ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Ἀπίων[ος τοῦ δεῖνος]

- 5 τῶν ξυρε ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων[ν ἀναγεγραμμένον]
ἐπ' ἀμ[φ]όδον Ἀνκίων· ὑπάρ[χει μοι καὶ τῷ δημομ-]
τρίῳ μ[ο]ν ἀδελφῷ Ἀσκλη[τοῦ Ἀρτε-]
μιδώρου ἐν τῇ προκειμέν[ῃ κώμῃ]
(ἤμισιν) μέρ[ο]ς μυλῶν ἀργού· καὶ [τῷ τοῦ προκειμένου]
10 μου [πα]τρὸς Ἀπίωνος ἀδε[λφῷ]

1 Πρωτάρχῳ: His dates are 129–133 A.D. (Bastianini, *Strateghi*, pp. 30, 32).

Since this particular text was formulated on the occasion of the census for 131/2 A.D., and Protarchos was in office no later than 133, the date of the return falls within these limits.

3 Ἡρακλείδῃ κομογρ.: As far as I can determine, he is unknown.

5 τῶν ξυρε ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων[ν]: The full designation was *κατοικὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων* *ζυσε* and indicated a civil category of people in the Fayum, comparable to a *conventus civium Romanorum*. The organization was already established

in Ptolemaic times and continued until the end of the third century A.D. The origin of the number 6475 is disputed; various intricate calculations have been devised in attempts to arrive at this total, but none is based on solid evidence (G. Plaumann, „Die ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἀνδρες Ἕλληνες 6475“, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 176–183). See also J. G. Keenan, „Census Return of Herakleides“, *Chron. d'Eg.* 46 (1971) 121.

7 μ[ο]ν: This uncertain reading is derived from one or two exiguous traces on either side of a break.

Translation: "To Protarchos, strategos, and to N.N., (royal) secretary of the Arsinoite nome, (division of) Heraklides, and to Heraklides, village secretary . . . from Apion, son of Apion (and grandson of N.N.), one of the 6475 Greeks, registered in the quarter of the Lycians. There belongs to me and to my half-brother, Asclep-, (son of the same mother and Arte)midoros, in the aforementioned (village) . . . a half-share of an idle mill; and to the brother of the aforementioned Apion, my father . . ."

Nr. 2221 Census Return

P. 21751

8.7 × 6.4 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

160/1 A.D.

Upper margin 1.3 cm. The light brown papyrus has lost about half of its width from the left and an indeterminable amount from the bottom. What remains is marred by a few holes. To the right is attached a strip of another papyrus, preserving the beginning of eight lines, and on the verso are nine line ends written in a very crude script. As O. M. Pearl in "Census Documents from Karanis", *Chron. d'Eg.* 28 (1953) 341, has demonstrated, two documents attached to one another need not necessarily belong to a *tomos synkollesimos*, especially when someone has used their versos for his own private accounting purposes. So here it is not certain that the fragmentary second papyrus is also a census return, but a definite criterion for establishing its character is lacking.

A certain Stotoetis, son of Pakysis and Stotoetis, a priest of Soknopaios in Soknopaiu Nesos, on the occasion of the census for 159/160 A.D., submits his return to various officials. Nothing in the form or content distinguishes the text, and it may be compared to numerous others. See Hombert-Préaux, *op. cit.*, and Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Milan, 1973, pp. 178–179.

Column I

- [Τιμαγέ]νῃ βασιλ[ικῷ] γ[ρ]αμματεῖ] Ἀρσι[νοίτου]
[Ἡρακλ(εῖδου) μερίδος καὶ Κρό]κῳ κομογρ[α]μ[ματεῖ] καὶ
[λαογράφοις κώμης Σο]κνο[παίου] Νήσου
[παρὰ Στοτοήτ[εως] π[ρ]εσβ[υτέρου] Πακύσεως τοῦ
5 [δεῖνος μητρὸς] Στοτοήτ[εως] τῆς Ὀνώφρ[εως]
[τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Σοκνο[παίου]] Νήσου ἱερέως α- φηλ[ῆς]

- [Σοκνο(παίου) θεοῦ μεγάλο]ν μέγαλον· ἀπογε(ἀφομαι) ἐ[μα]ντ-
 [όν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμὸς εἰς] τὴν τοῦ διελ[η]λγυθότος
 [κγ (ἐτους) Θεοῦ Αἰλλίου Ἀ]ντωνεῖνου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπο-
 10 [γε(αφὴν)· καταγίνομαι δὲ ἐν οἰκ]ῃ ἰδίᾳ πατρικ(ῇ)
 [ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ ὁ πρ]ογεγε(αμμένος) Σ[τοτο]ῖτις

Column II

(m.2) χ[, .[followed by a space of three lines. (m.3) πα[, σ[, σο[, κ.[, κα[, ι[

Column I

- 1 In the lacuna may have stood ἀντίγε(αφον) ἀπογε(αφῆς), simply ἀντίγεραφον, or Τέρακι στρ() καὶ Τιμαγένη.
- 2 [Κρό]κω: He is otherwise known only from BGU 90 = 537 (161 A.D.).
- 3 [λαογράφοις]: Restored from parallels discussed in Hombert-Préaux, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-91 ff.
- 4 [Στοτοήτεως]: Restored from line eleven. He may be the same as Stotoetis the elder, son of Pakysis, a priest of the first phyle in BGU 162.20 (2nd century).
- 6 Pap. ἔρεως.
- 7 [μεγάλο]ν μέγαλον: See 2216.17 note.
- 10 Pap. ἰδία
 πατρικ(ῇ): παπ(π)ικ(ῇ) is also a possible reading. The putative rho is nothing more than an unadorned vertical stroke with a slight curl at the lower end.

Translation: "... to Timagenes), royal (secretary) of the Arsinoite nome, (the division of Heraklides, and to) Krokos, village secretary, and (to the laographoi of the village) of Soknopaiu Nesos, (from Stotoetis) the elder, son of Pakysis and grandson (of N.N., his mother being) Stotoetis, daughter of Onnophris, (one of those from the village of Soknopaiu) Nesos, a priest of the 1st phyle of the great (great god Soknopaios). I register myself (and my family in) the house-to-house census for the past (23rd year of the deified Aelius) Antoninus. (I live in my own) house, inherited from my father (?) (in the village. I am the) aforementioned Stotoetis ..."

Nr. 2222 Census Return

P. 21910
 15.2 × 8.2 cm

Fayum
 June 23, 161 A.D.

Left margin 1.5 cm, lower 8.8 cm. The papyrus is light brown and fine-textured. It was folded once vertically and at least four times horizontally. An indeterminate amount is missing from the top; otherwise only minor breaks and worm holes mar its appearance. The script is that of a careful yet skilled scribe. This conclusion of a census return preserves only the names of two declarants, their properties, the date and signature of the official who received the return.

If the hand of the signing official is the same as that which wrote the document, as the case seems to be, then this is a copy of the original. Hombert-Préaux, *Le recensement*, pp. 144-7, discuss the intent and uses of copies. On the verso in large, centimeter-high letters, running parallel to the fibers, is a line in Demotic. K.-T. Zauzich has kindly made the following transcription and translation: In '.wj.w 'fḥ' Hr-'š' h3.t-sp 23.t „(Verzeichnis o.ä.) (der) aufgegebenen (?) Häuser (des Ortes) Har... im Regierungsjahr 23“.

[.....]
 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογεραφὴν ἐμοὶ [μὲν]
 τῷ Ἀγχῶπι οἰκία καὶ ἀδελή κ[αὶ]
 χορτοθήκη, τῇ δὲ θυγατρ[ί] μου]
 5 Θασῆτι οἰκίας τέσσαρες κ[αὶ]
 ἀδελὰι τέσσαρες ἐν αἷς οἰκ[εῖ] καὶ]
 ἀπογράφεται· (ἐτους) α Αὐτοκράτ[ορος]
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀδρηλίου
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
 10 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκί[ου]
 Ἀδρηλίου Οὐδήρου Σεβαστοῦ
 Παῦνι κθ· Ἀχιλλᾶς κώμογ[ρ(αμματεὺς) διὰ]
 Χαιρήμονος γε(αμματέως) σεσημ(είωμαι)

- 1 All is lost save for a few lower letter tips.
- 5 Θασῆτι: Tentatively identifiable with Thases, daughter of Anchophis, in BGU 2036.9 (Heraklia, 162/3 A.D.).
 1. οἰκίαι
- 6 ἐν αἷς οἰκ[εῖ] καὶ: Also possible is ἐν αἷς οἰκ[ταῖς]
- 12 Ἀχιλλᾶς: Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 377, attests to an Achilles, komogrammateus in an unknown village in the second century A.D.
- 13 Χαιρήμονος: Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 1158, lists a Chairemon, grammateus in second-century Bacchias.
 Notes on the Demotic (supplied by K.-T. Zauzich): Das zu '.wj.w gehörige Pluralzeichen ist über der Zeile nachgetragen.
 Das Wort fḥ "aufgeben, zerstören" ist demotisch bisher nicht belegt, vgl. jedoch *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* I, 578. Das Wort hinter fḥ ist nach dem Zusammenhang und nach dem relativ deutlichen Ortsdeterminativ sicher ein Ortsname und wohl Hr-s oder Hr-t3.wj zu lesen.

Translation: "... in the house-to-house registration (*scil.* there belongs) to me, Anchopis, a house, a hall and a barn; to (my) daughter, Thases, four houses and four halls in which she lives (and) which she registers. Year 1 of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Payni 29. I, Achilles, komogrammateus, (through) Chairemon, grammateus, have signed it".

Nr. 2223 Property Return of a Roman Citizen (Pl. VI)

P. 25138

18.5 × 8.2 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

August 24–29, 175 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 0.5–1 cm, lower 10.2 cm. Throughout its written portion, besides being torn, the light brown papyrus is abraded. After the date the entire lower right quarter is missing. The hand is a small rapid one. Overlapping this papyrus on the left is a remnant of another text (15 × 1 cm); however, nothing more than a couple of letters in two or three lines can be read with any surety.

On behalf of Isidora, alias Harpokratiaina, daughter of Gaius Julius G-, someone declares her property holdings for the census year 173/4 A.D. Both a Roman citizen and an ἀσκή, she had already submitted at her legal residence her personal declaration (l. 6–7 δι' ἐτέρου ὑπομνήματος). In this declaration only the house property in the specific place of declaration needed to be listed, without any further indication of her person or status.

Such census declarations of Roman citizens are relatively uncommon; they are listed and given full treatment by H. Braunert, "Cives Romani und KAT" ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ", P.Lugd.-Bat. XVII, pp. 11–21. Add to that list *Chron. d'Ég.* 46 (1971) 125 = P.Tebt. 522; SB 9639; 2223; 2224 col. II (?).

παρὰ Σαραπίωνος διὰ ... [± 7]
 νίωνος· ὑπάρχει τῇ φροντιζο-
 μένῃ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰσιδώρου τῇ καὶ
 Ἀρποκρατιανῇ θυγατρὶ Γαίου Ἰου-
 λίου Γ[...]λλ.ον ἀσκή, μεθ' ἧ ἀπεγρα-
 ψάμην [δι'] ἐτέρου ὑπομνή[μ]α[α-]
 τος α. [...]ς ἀπογε(ἀφομαι) ἡμῖν [...]]
 οἰκίας καὶ τρίτον μέρος ἀμ[...]]
 πέμπτου μέρος ψειλῶν τόπων
 10 καὶ ἡ[μῖν] τρίτον μέρος ἐτέρας οἰ-
 κίας, πάντα ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ον) Σεκνε-
 πτυν[ε]ίου, ἐν οἷς {ον} οὐδεὶς [ἀπογράφεται·]
 (ἔτους) ιε Αἰδρη[λ]ίου Ἀντωνεῖν(ον) Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρί[ον Μ]εσορή ἐπαγομένων.

5 ἀσκή: v. Uxkull-Gyllenband would place in this category Greeks belonging to the epheby—not only those living in Alexandria but also those in the Chora (BGU V, pp. 22ff.). See P. Fouad 22.3 note; E. Bickermann, "A propos des ΑΣΤΟΙ dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine", *Revue de Philologie* (1927) 362–368.

6–7 [δι'] ἐτέρου ὑπομνή[μ]α[α]τος: Her personal declaration and property declaration for her legal residence; see Braunert, *op.cit.*, p. 15 n. 23; Hombert-Préaux, *op.cit.*, p. 106. This declaration is curious in that this expression is the sole reference in it to

any census return at all, the phrase εἰς τὴν τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἰδ (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴν αὐτὴν *sim.* having been omitted for one reason or another.

7 α. [...]ς: ἀπὸς? definitely not προσαπογράφομαι.

ἀπογε(ἀφομαι): The scribe forgot that he already wrote ὑπάρχει in l. 2 and that any other verb is superfluous.

Following the last word is a heavy ink blot which extends upwards into the preceding line. Μέρος was undoubtedly intended, although no letters are at all visible.

8 l. μέρος

αμ[]: or ημ[]. Definitely not ἀλ[λ]ης; ἀλ[λ]οιον with difficulty.

9 ψειλῶν τόπων: The inclusion of this entry in a list of house property is explained by O. Pearl, "Census Documents from Karanis", *Chron. d'Ég.* 28 (1953) 337, as belonging to property "which by its location within a village might be expected to be built up and inhabited". For general discussion of the term, see R. Rossi "ΨΙΛΟΙ ΤΟΠΟΙ" *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 42–56.

11–12 Σεκνεπτυν[ε]ίου: a quarter in Arsinoitōn polis, attested from the first to third centuries A.D., e.g. PSI 1062.3; P.Ryl. 103.18; Mitteis, *Chrest.* 215.10.

14 ἐπαγομένων: Since 175 was a leap year there were six intercalary days (August 24–29). For the calculation of leap years see M. David and B. von Groningen, *Papyrological Primer*, Leyden, 1965⁴, p. 35.

Translation: "... from Sarapion, through N.N., son of -nion. There belongs to my charge, Isidora, alias Harpokratiaina, daughter of Gaius Julius G-, an Alexandrian, next after that which I declared (through) another document, ... I declare one-half share of a house, and one-third share of a ... (and) one-fifth share of a vacant lot, and five-sixths share of another house, all in the quarter of the Seknebtynion, in which no one (is registered). Year 15 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore on the -th intercalary day."

Nr. 2224 Two Census Returns

P. 21879

fg. a: 9.3 × 8.3 cm

fg. b: 11 × 8 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

175 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin of fg. a: 1.5 cm, of fg. b: 1.8 cm. Two fragments of dark brown, fine-textured papyrus make up the text. Fg. a contains column 65 of a *tomos synkollesimos* which breaks off at the fourteenth line. To the left are remnants of the previous column in the roll, and although from the right a width of 8–12 letters is missing, a piece of the right margin with a few letters on it is attached to the left side of fg. b.

Fg. b, preserving column 66 of the roll, breaks at the fifteenth line and has lost a width of about nineteen letters from the right.

Column 65 presents the joint census return of Sarapion and his sister, Apollonarian, alias Sarapias, for the census of 173/4. It offers little to distinguish it from numerous parallels.

Column 66 is a census return submitted by a certain Pasion, alias N.N., for a freedman, a freedwoman, and a certain Nilos, who might be an Antinoite.

If so, this declaration might possibly belong to the category distinguished and discussed by H. Braunert in "Cives Romani und *KAT* OIKIAN AΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ" P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII, pp. 11–21. Since the text is so fragmentary this suggestion must remain for the present an imponderable.

These documents have been previously published by C. A. Nelson in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 245–251. An addition was made by H. Maehler in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 100, and since then a second three line fragment has come to light.

Column I

(m.1) ξε

- (m.2) Ποτάμωνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου) [μερίδος]
παρὰ Σαραπίωνος Δείου τοῦ [..... μη(τρὸς)]
Ἰσαροῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπ(όλεως) ἀν[αγρ(αφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)]
- 5 Πλατείας· ὑπάρχει ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου]
Ἀπολλωναρίῳ τῇ καὶ Σαραπιᾷδι [..... μέρος]
οἰκίας καὶ ἀδλ(ῆς) ἐπ' ἀμφόδον Βιθυν[ῶν]
ἐν ᾧ ἀπογράφομαι ἐμαντόν [εἰς τὴν τοῦ]
διελ(ηλυθότος) ἰδ(έτους) Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου[ν Καίσαρος τοῦ]
- 10 κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) ἐπὶ [τοῦ].ου
ἀμφόδον ἐ[φ' οὗ καὶ τῇ τοῦ κγ]- (έτους)
ἀπογρ(αφή) ἀπεγρ(αφάμην)· [καὶ εἰμι Σαραπίων ὁ πρ]οκ(είμενος)
ἰδιώτ(ης) λα[ογρ(αφούμενος)]
..ο.[]

Column II

(m.1) ξς

- (m.3) Ποτάμωνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσ[ι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου)]
μερίδος
παρὰ Πασίωνος τοῦ καὶ [
5 δίου κατοίκου ἀναγρ(αφομένου) [ἐπ' ἀμφόδον]
Διονυσίου Τόπ(ων)· ὑπάρχει τοῖ[ς φροντιζομένοις]
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Νείλῳ ἀπελευ[θ(έρῳ)
τοῦ καὶ Νεικάνδρου Ἀντ[καὶ Σαρα-]
πιᾷδι ἀπελευθ(έρῳ) Μύσθου [τοῦ καὶ
10 Μυσθαρίωνος κοινῶς ἐξ [ἴσου
οἰκία καὶ αἰθρίον ἐπ' ἀμφ[όδον Διονυσίου (?)]
[Τόπ(ων)] ἐν ᾗ ἀπογρ(αφεται) δ[ι' ἐτέρου ὑπομνήματος ἡ]
[προγεγ]ρ(αμμένη) Σαραπιᾷ[ς
[εἰς τῇ] κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀ[πογρ(αφήν)]

Column I

- 1 On numbered returns see Hombert-Préaux, *op.cit.*, pp. 131–135.
- 2 Ποτάμωνι: His attested dates are at least from June 14, 171 to November 27, 175 A.D. (Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 42).
- 5 [ἀδελφῇ]: Nelson [γυναικί]. It seems reasonably certain from the parallels cited by Nelson himself, e.g. P.Mich. 177, 178, that this restoration is more likely than his, for which he confessed finding no parallel.
- 7 Βιθυν[ῶν Ἀλλων Τόπων or Βιθυν[ῶν Ἰσίωνος Τόπων are the two possible restorations; see Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, pp. 22ff.
- 9–11 I have displaced frag. a upwards with the result that its upper edge is no longer flush with fg. b, but also that the few letters of this column which are attached to the left margin of fg. b are more consequent with the expected restorations. The reading of].ου I regard as fairly certain. Nelson's description of l. 8 (my l. 10) seems to be by oversight rather a description of his l. 9 (my l. 11), where there is a long supralinear horizontal extending above a vertical trace. This vertical trace, however, is not a single, but a double stroke and hence a good candidate for the ἔτος-symbol. The supralinear letter of his l. 10 (my l. 12) is not upsilon but unmistakably kappa (κρ[ο*]).
- 13 ἰδιώτ(ης): Hombert-Préaux, *op.cit.*, pp. 104 n. 6, 115, 117; Meyer, P. Meyer 9.7 note; Molendijk, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIII 12.5–6 note all discuss this designation and agree that it must refer to the occupation of the person so described. Molendijk suggests that it means "without an occupation".

Column II

- 6 Διονυσίου Τόπ(ων): Listed in Wessely, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
- 7–9 The only other example of a census declaration by a freedman seems to be P. Lugd.-Bat. V col. VIII (= P. Brux. 8). The various possibilities of relationship between Nilos and Sarapias and Pasion are given thorough discussion by Nelson, *op.cit.*, pp. 250–251. That they are absentee landlords seems to me to be out of the question. That they are registered in another place (l. 22 δ[ι' ἐτέρου ὑπομνήματος]), perhaps in Antinoe (l. 7–8 Νείλῳ ... Ἀντ[ινοεῖ?]) is an attractive thesis. If such were the case, this declaration would then be another example of a property declaration by a person of privileged class (see H. Braunert *op.cit.*). But as it stands the document is too fragmentary to be definitely assigned to that category.
- 9–10 Μύσθου ... Μυσθαρίωνος: On the derivation of these and related names, see G. Wagner-J. Quaegebeur, "Une dédicace grecque au dieu égyptien Metastasytmis de la part de son synode", *BIFAO* 73 (1973) 47–8.

Translation: (col. I) "(Hd. 1) 65. (Hd. 2) To Potamon, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the (division) of Heraklides, from Sarapion, son of Dios, grandson of N.N., his (mother) being Isarus, from the metropolis, and registered (in the quarter of the) Plateia. There belongs to me and (my sister), Apollonarian, alias Sarapias, the . . . (part) of a house and a hall in the quarter of the Bithynians . . . , in which I register myself (for the) house-to-house census of the past 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus (Caesar the) lord in (the . . .) district, where I registered myself (for the) census (of the 23rd) year. (I am the aforementioned Sarapion, without occupation (?), paying the poll-tax . . ."

(Col. II) "(Hd. 1) 66. (Hd. 3). To Potamon, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the division of (Heraklides) from Pasion, alias N.N., son of -dios, registered as a katoikos (in the district) Dionysiu Topoi. There belong to my (charges), Nilos,

freedman of . . . , alias Nikandros, son of Ant- (?), and Sarapias, freedwoman of Mysthes, alias N.N., son of Mystharion, in common and in equal shares a house and a court in the quarter of (Dionysiu Topon?), in which the (aforementioned) Sarapias is registered (for the) house-to-house (census through another memorandum?) . . ."

Nr. 2225 Census Return

P. 21880

Arsinoitōn polis
189 A.D.

fg. a: 5.8 × 8.6 cm
fg. b: 7.8 × 5.8 cm
fg. c: 4.5 × 6.8 cm

Traces of three lines on the verso. The medium dark brown and coarse-grained papyrus is preserved in three fragments. Fgg. a and c offer the left side of the document; fg. b the right side. Lost are the ends of most lines (in many lines only one or two letters), several letters within all surviving lines, and the end of the declaration. Even with the losses, the declaration provides much continuous text and can be restored from parallels.

Sarapias with her guardian Heron submits a census return for the census of 187/188 A.D. The declaration presents no unusual or unique features.

This text has already been published by C. A. Nelson in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 251-255.

Ἀρποκρατίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἰέρρακι βασιλ(ικῶ) γ[ρ](αμματεῖ) Ἀρσιν(οίτων) Ἡρα-

[κλ(είδων) με]ρ[ίδος]

παρὰ Σα[ρ]απιάδος Εἰρη[ναίου τοῦ] Μάρωνος μητρὸς Ἰσαρίων

ἀναγρ(αφομένης) ἐπ' ἀμφοδον Ἀπολλ[ωνίου Τερακ]είων μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ

συνγενοῦς Ἡρώως τοῦ ὑπάρ[χ]ι μοι ἐπὶ [τοῦ] προκειμέ-

5 νον ἀμφοδον Ἀπολλ[ωνίου Τερακ]είων οἰκία καὶ ἀδ[ελ]φ[ή] ἐν ᾗ κατο[ι]-

κῶ καὶ ἀπογρ(αφομαι) ἐματ[ήν] καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς τήν τοῦ διε[λ]ηλυθότο[ς]

κη (ἔτους) κατ' ο[ὐ]κία[ν] ἀπογρ(αφήν)· καὶ εἰμι Σα[ρ]απι[ᾶς] Εἰρη[ναίου] τοῦ

Μάρων[ος]

[ἡ προγεγρ(αμμένη) (ἐτῶν) ἀρι]στεροῦ κα[ὶ] τήν θνγ(ατέρα)

Ἰσάριον (?)]

τήν [καὶ Σ]αραπιά[δα] (ἐτῶν) κβ (?) ἄσημο[ν] (?) ἀπογ[ρ]-

γραμμέν[ην]

10 καὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀπογρ(αφή) ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμ[φ]οδ[ο]ν Ἀπολλωνί[ου]

Τερακείων· καὶ ἐνοίκ[ους]]ρσι[ο]ν[ο]ν] μ[η]τρ[ο]ς]

Ἀπολλωνίας κάτοικο[ν] (ἐτῶν) ιδ (?)]·[ἐπικεκριμέ-]

νον τῷ κη (ἔτει) καὶ Ερμ[ῆ]

τοῦ Σαραπίων[ος] . . .]

4 1. ὑπάρ[χ]ει 6 1. ἐμαντ[ήν]

1 Ἀρποκρατίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἰέρρακι : His administration began in 188/9 (Mussies, "Liste des stratèges", no. 376) and ended in 193 (Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 167).

3 ἀμφοδον Ἀπολλ[ωνίου Τερακ]είων : Cited by Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, p. 21.

8 The restoration is derived from P. Mil. Vogl. 193b.18, 194a.8, 194b.12; BGU 2089.13.

8-9 [Ἰσάριον?] τήν [καὶ Σ]αραπιά[δα] : Someone of this name, perhaps the same person, and twenty-five years old in 192 A.D. appears in SB 9618 (Arsinoitōn polis).

12-13 ἐπικεκριμέ-]νον τῷ κη (ἔτει) : τῷ κη (ἔτει) is not the usual way of referring to a census (although the phrase does appear in P. Meyer 9.7). More usual is τῇ τοῦ . (ἔτους) ἀπογρ(αφή). For this reason and others Nelson has opted for the given restoration.

Translation: "To Harpokration also called Hierax, (royal) secretary of the (division) of Heraklides of the Arsinoite nome, from Sarapias, daughter of Irenaios, granddaughter of Maron, her mother being Isarion, enrolled in the district of the Hawk Shrine of Apollonios, her guardian being her relative Heron, son of . . . I own in the aforementioned district of the (Hawk Shrine) of Apollonios a house and court in which I reside and register myself (and my family) for the house-to-house (census) of the past 28th year. (I am the aforementioned Sarapias), daughter of Irenaios, granddaughter of Maron, (aged . . . with a scar on my) left . . . My daughter is (Isarion?) also called Sarapias, (aged 22?, no distinguishing mark?), enrolled also in a previous census (in the same) district of the Hawk Shrine of Apollonios. Other residents are . . . whose mother is Apollonia, catocous, (aged 14? . . . examined?) in the 28th year and Herm . . . etc."

Nr. 2226 Census Return

P. 21881

11 × 8.5 cm

12 × 7 cm

Arsinoitōn polis
203 A.D.

Verso blank. The medium dark brown papyrus is preserved in two fragments. Lost are several letters in the middle and at the end of all lines, an undetermined number of lines at the beginning of the document, and much of the end.

Heroninos, son of Pasion, presents on behalf of two people a census declaration for the year 201/2 A.D. The text has already been published and discussed by C. A. Nelson in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 255-258. There Nelson wishes to see in Heroninos an absentee landlord, because he is designated *φροντιστής*. H. Braunert, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII, p. 14 and n. 16, cautions against jumping to this conclusion, when there is no explicit mention of absence in the document itself. See also Hombert-Préaux, "Le recensement", p. 61 (not 66 as in Braunert, n. 16).

[± 6] . . .]

[± 6] λο . . .] ἀπὸ (?)]

τῆς Ἀρσιν(οίτων) π[ό]λεως (?) ± 17]ντο[ς] τ[ῆς] λ[αμ]προτάτης]

πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρ[έων] καὶ ὡς χρ[η]ματίζουσιν δ[ιὰ] φροντιστοῦ]

5 Ἡρωνείνου Πασίωνος τοῦ [. . .]ς μητρὸς Ἐλένης κατοίκ[ου] ἀπεγρ[α]-

πάμεθα δι' ἐτέρου ὑπομνή[ματος] ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχ[ο]ύσῃ ἡμῖν οἰκ[ία] ἐπ' ἀμφοδόν
 Λινυφίων τοὺς ὑπογεγραμ[μένους] ἐνοίκους εἰς τὴν τοῦ διεληλ[υθότος ι (ἔτους)]
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτο[ρων] Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σευ[ήρου] Εὐσεβοῦς
 Περίνακος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρ[ηλίου] Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβασ[τῶν] [καὶ Που-
 βλίου]

10 Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σ[εβαστοῦ] κατ' οἰκ[ίαν] ἀπογορ(αφῆν) ἐπὶ τ[ο]ῦ αὐ[τοῦ]
 ἀμφοδόν]

Λινυφίων ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῇ [τοῦ] κῆ (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκ[ίαν] ἀπογορ(αφῆν) ἀπεγραψά[μεθα]
 καὶ εἰσω]

ὁ προγεγορ(αμμένος) Ηρώνειος Π[ασίωνος] ο[ἱ] ἱεροπράτης (ἐτῶν) μὴ καὶ τὴν
 τούτου]

γυναῖκα Σαβίαν Ηρ[] ± 12]ωνος (ἐτῶν) καὶ τῇ[ν] θυγατέρα (?)]

[Σαβί]νης Η[ρ] ± 10 (ἐτῶν). καὶ ἐκ (?) γ[υναικὸς] Σαραπιάδος [

15 [τὴν θ]υγατέρα [± 6 (ἐτῶν). ± 10]ερόμενα αὐτῷ ἐκ [

[± 5] . . . [± 15] . . . [.] να ἀναγεγορ(αμμέν-) [

[± 32] καὶ Ἀπολλών[ιον]

[± 15 ἀναγεγορ(αμμένον) ἐν ἐπιγεγενημ[ένοις] (ἐτῶν) [

6 Pap. ὑπομνή[ματος], ὑπαρχ[ο]ύση 7 Pap. ὑπογεγραμ[μένους] 8 l. Σευ[ήρου]

3]το[ς]: This is probably a participial ending indicating the declarant's office.

2-3 ἀπὸ] τῆς Ἀρσινου(τῶν) π[όλεως]?]: This restoration of the missing parts is the most logical one, although the phrase does not appear elsewhere in this section of census declarations from the metropolis (Hombert-Préaux, p. 106).

6 δι' ἐτέρου ὑπομνή[ματος]: This other memorandum was their personal declaration and property declaration where they were registered (Braunert, *op. cit.*, p. 15 n. 23).

6-7 [ἀμφοδόν] Λινυφίων: Listed in Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, p. 30.

9-10 [[καὶ Πουβλίου] Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σ[εβαστοῦ]]: Cancelled in red ink. On the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta, see P. Strasb. 257.10 note; P. Mich. 397.6-8 note; M. Hombert, "Bulletin papyrologique 25", *REG* 66 (1953) 343, "Bulletin papyrologique 27", *REG* 70 (1957) 181; P. Mertens, "La damnatio memoriae de Géta dans les papyrus", *Coll. Latomus* 44 (1960) 541 ff.; BGU 2056.

11 [καὶ εἰσω]: not καὶ ἐσμεν, because the declarants do not reside in the house; see Hombert-Préaux, p. 113.

13-18 Many problems of restoration and interpretation exist in these fragmentary lines. The restorations which Nelson has made are very tentative and merely suggest how the text may be understood.

Translation: "To N.N. . . . from N.N. . . . and from N.N. (from) Arsinoe . . . of the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians, and however else they are styled, (through their agent) Heroninos, son of Pasion, grandson of N.N., his mother being Helen, katoikos. We have registered through another memorandum in a house belonging to us (in the) Linen Factories (District) the following residents for the house-to-house census of the past (10th year) of our lords the emperors Lucius Septimius Severus (Pius) Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius,

Augusti, and [Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus] in the same Linen Factories (District) in which we registered also in the house-to-house census (of the 28th year. And they are) the aforementioned Heroninos, (son of Pasion . . .), wine merchant, aged 48; his wife Sabina, daughter of Her . . ., aged 26; the (daughter) of Sabina . . .; the daughter of his wife Sarapias . . ."

Nr. 2227 Extract from a Census Register

P. 25131 verso

14.8 × 8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

147-160 A.D.

Upper margin 2.5 cm, left 1.5 cm. The medium light brown papyrus has suffered considerable damage and breaks at the twelfth line. The hand is an elegant and small cursive.

Written on the verso against the fiber grain, this extract from a census register reports on a certain Pabus of Soknopaiu Nesos. As in the succeeding document, the chief interest lies in the double dating of Pabus' age.

On the recto are scanty remains of names and ages in two columns.

ἐξ εἰκονισμ(οῦ) θ (ἔτους)

Ἀντωνεῖνον Καίσαρος τοῦ

[κ]υρίου κόμης Σοκ[ρο(παίου)] Νήσο(ν)

[.]μει[.] . . . οἰκι() πα[.] . . . []

5 [Π]αβοῦς Σαταβοῦτος τοῦ

Παβοῦτος μητ(ρός) Τανομιέω(ς)

[τ]ῆς Πανεφρέμμεο(ς) γέροδιο(ς)

[δ] διὰ λόγων [.]ργα . . . κ()

Σαταβοῦτος τοῦ

10 Παθιῆτος μητ(ρός) . . . []

[(ἐτῶν)] νη η (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) νζ []

Παβοῦς υἱὸς μητ(ρός)

Σεγάθιος [

]εφρέμμε[ως

15 [.] . . . []

1 θ (ἔτους): See 2228.2 note for the dating of these extracts.

4 Preceding omicron is what could be either a sigma or a curved stroke of abbreviation.

5 [Π]αβοῦς: Undoubtedly named after his grandfather Pabus.

8 [δ] διὰ λόγων: See 2263.7 note.

9-10 Σαταβοῦτος τοῦ κτλ.: I am at a loss for an explanation as to how this person might be related to Pabus.

10 Παθιῆτος: *addendum onomasticis*.

11 η (ἔτει): 144/5 A.D., the year preceding the census in 145/6; see 2228.9-10 note.

3 Brashear, Greek Papyri

Translation: "From the census register incorporating descriptions of the 9th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, for the village of Soknopaiu Nesos Pabus alias ..., son of Satabus and grandson of Pabus, his mother being Tanomieus, daughter of Panephremmis, a weaver.

Of Satabus, son of Pathies, his mother being N.N., 58 (years) old, in the 8th year 57 years old.

Pabus, his son, his mother being Segathis ..."

Nr. 2228 Extract from a Census Register

P. 25130

13.7 × 9.3 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

175-188 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin ca. 0.5 cm, left 1-1.5 cm, lower ca. 3.2 cm. Folded twice vertically. The light brown papyrus has suffered the loss of a triangular section from the left for over half its length as well as a square section from the middle of the first three lines. Here and there it is worm-eaten. The hand is a rapid, yet for the most part easily legible, cursive.

Compiled from the census list for 173/4 A.D. in the public records archive, this extract notes the age, *signalement*, relationship and property of a certain Stotoetis of Soknopaiu Nesos. The main interest lies in lines 9-11, where three different ages and two different *signalements* are given for Stotoetis in two different years.

Extracts from census registers such as this and the preceding papyrus are relatively uncommon. O. M. Pearl, *Chron. d'Ég.* 28 (1953) 350 n.3 lists three.

- ἐκ β[ιβλ(ισθῆκης)] δη(μοσίων) λόγων ἐξ εἰκο(νισμοῦ)
 ἰδ [(ἐτους) ἐν κ[αὶ] ὥ(μῃ) Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσο(ν)]
 κ[ολ(λήματος) . . .]—
 δ- φυλ(ῆς) μέρος Πατοξ.κης
 5 οἰκ(ίαι) β- κ[αὶ] ἀβλ(ῆ) καὶ αἰθ(ριον)
 συνεχ(εῖς) ἀλλήλ(αις)
 Στοτοῆτις Ἀγχώφρεως τοῦ
 Στοτοῆτεως μητρ(ός) Τεσενούφρεως
 τῆς Ὀννώφρεως (ἐτῶν) κς
 10 ἄση(μος) ἱγ (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) κς ε() (ἐτῶν) κδ
 οἰκ(ῆ) μετώ[(πω)] ἐκ δεξιῶν
] . . α
]ης Πετμούεις δοῦλ(ος) τοῦ
 ? Φανομ]γενδς Στοτοῆτεως εγμ . . .
 15] . [] —

1-4 For the restorations see O. M. Pearl, "Census Documents from Karanis", *Chron. d'Ég.* 28 (1953) 350 n.3.

2 ἰδ [(ἐτους)]: 173/4 A.D.—the only possible census year falling in the fourteenth regnal year of an emperor; see the tables in P.Lugd.-Bat. V, p. 174. This extract, however, could be drawn up only after official lists had been compiled from the census returns. Hence the *terminus post quem* of 175 A.D. See Pearl, *op.cit.*, pp. 346-347.

4 μέρος Πατοξ.κης: or Πατοικης, Πατρικης? A geographical name?

5 αἰθ(ριον): Not to be confused with the Latin *atrium* (P.Lugd.-Bat. XVI 18.8 note).

9-10 In P.Ross.-Georg. II 12, the ages are given in identical manner: the age in the census year, the regnal year preceding and the age of the person in that year. So here Stotoetis is twenty-six in 173/4; in the thirteenth year of Marcus Aurelius he is twenty-five. This double dating procedure was undoubtedly a countercheck against error or fraud; see H. Henne, "Sur l'interprétation de quelques textes récemment publiés", *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 386ff., and P.Lugd.-Bat. V, p. 143; P.Fouad 59.5-6 note.

10 ἔ(ως) ? (ἐτῶν) κδ: See P.Ross.-Georg. II 12.1: ἔως κδ (ἐτους) and Henne, *op.cit.*, p. 387 n.5. Inexplicable there, inexplicable here.

10-11 ἄσημος . . . οἰκ(ῆ) μετώ[(πω)]: In P.Fouad 59.5-6, for the age of a man, one reads (ἐτῶν) μη (ἐτῶν) μα οἰκ(ῆ) πῆχ(ει) δεξιῶ. Could it be that in both instances, the second and younger age with its accompanying note of a scar is a means of preventing error, by demonstrating that these men, according to other sources, do indeed have scars? Hasebroek, *Das Signalement*, p. 6, remarks that consistent recording of the same scars was not a prerequisite in official documents.

13 Πετμούεις: *addendum onomasticis*. Cf. Πατμούεις. The pi is very uncertain and resembles—what remains of it—more an epsilon.

14 εγμ . . . : I find neither ἐγ μη(τρός) nor ἐγ μητρός satisfactory readings, although one would logically expect such a phrase here.

Translation (lines 1-11): "From the public records (archive), from the census register incorporating descriptions of the 14th (year in the) village of Soknopaiu Nesos. -th column.

From the 4th tribe; the division of Patoike (?): 2 houses and a hall and courtyard joined to one another.

Stotoetis, son of Anchophis and grandson of Stotoetis, his mother being Tesenuphis, daughter of Onnophris, 26 years old and unscarred, in the 13th year 25 years old . . . 24 years old, having a scar on his forehead to the right . . ."

Nr. 2229 Death Certificate

P. 21907

7 × 7.3 cm

Bacchias

153 A.D.

Verso blank. Minimal right margin. From this light brown papyrus have disappeared the top, the bottom and a strip from the left. The hand is squarish, neat and practiced.

A relative announces the death of Teapnamis, son of Petobastis and Amenokis, a resident of Bacchias.

Parallels are listed in P.Strasb. 501-540, p. 48. To that list should be added P.Mich. 538; P.Oxy. 2837, 2957, 3104, 3141; P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Twelve Documentary Papyri from the Amsterdam Papyrus Collection", *Talanta* 2 (1970) 102; as well as the following three documents.

- [- ἀ]πὸ τῆς προ[ογεγραμμ]έ-
 [νη]ς κώμης Βακχιάδος· ὁ συνγε-
 [ν]ής μου Τεαπνάμις Πετοβάσ-
 [τε]ως τοῦ Τεαπνάμεως μητροῦς
 5 [Ἀ]μενόκιος ὑπερετῆς ἀπὸ τῆς
 [αὐ]τῆς κώμης ἐτελεύτησεν τῷ
 Τῦβι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ις (ἔτους)
 [Ἀν]τωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου·
 [διὼ] ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν
 10 [τῇ] τῶν τετελευτη(κ)όντων τάξ(ει)
 [ῶς] ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων]

2-3 ὁ συνγε[ν]ής μου: Cf. P.Petaus 6.3. This vague indication of the declarant's relationship to the deceased is atypical and rare. P.Merton 9 simply states the deceased's name, omitting any mention of consanguinity altogether.

3 Τεαπνάμις: The name is new. Underneath the epsilon an alpha was first written.

5 [Ἀ]μενόκιος: The name is once attested (SB 4669.5 Ἀμανόκις)—and that from the seventh century. However, H. Maehler has suggested reading]λεποκιος,]μετιμοκιος.

6 [αὐ]τῆς: This has been corrected from something else which is now illegible.

Translation: "... of the aforementioned village Bacchias. My relative Teapnamis, son of Petobastis, son of Teapnamis, and Amenokis, overage and from the same village, died in the month Tybi of the present 16th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. I (therefore) request that he be enrolled in (the) register of the deceased (as) in similar cases ..."

Nr. 2230 Two Death Certificates (Pl. VII)

P. 25106
18.2 x 14 cm

Arsinoitōn polis
159/160 A.D.

Two sheets of light brown papyrus have been glued together, the left overlapping the right by 2 cm. The left sheet, with the following margins: upper 0.8 cm, left 1.8 cm, lower 5.3 cm, between lines 16-17 a space of 1 cm, is damaged here and there by abrasions and breaks. The right sheet, attached to the left one at the level of the third line, 3 cm down its length, appears nonetheless to be lacking nothing at the top. From the right has broken off a strip about 1.5 cm wide. The bottom is damaged, and some has broken off. The

hand of the right text resembles that of P.Col. 1 recto 4 col. 10. That of the left is similarly skilled, but more vertical. On the verso, written across the widths of both sheets, are six 2-4 line entries regarding land and artabs of wheat. Two death certificates, both bearing numerals and abbreviated headings pertinent to the deceased and his status as a tax-payer, but addressed to different recipients, and reporting the deaths of different individuals, have been joined as if belonging to a roll. However, several indications argue against the contiguity of these two documents in the same roll. First and foremost is the error in numbering. The possibility of oversight cannot be disregarded, especially since there is only a discrepancy of one cipher, from 81 to 83. Second is the manner in which the two sheets have been joined, the left one three centimeters higher than the right one. Third is the presence of a verso document. All these factors make it likely that the two death certificates were at some later date removed from a common roll and glued together by an individual who used their blank verso surfaces for his own uses (see O. M. Pearl, "Census Documents from Karanis", *Chron. d'Ég.* 28 (1953) 341).

Column I

- (m. altera?) πα
 (m. 1) λαο(γραφίας) κολ(λήματος) ια ἐπὶ ἄλλω(ν) τό(πων)
 (ἐτῶν) νε δι(ὰ) βοη(θοῦ) Χηνοβ(οσκίων) α-
 (m. 2) γραμματεῦσι μητρο(πόλεως)
 5 παρὰ Διδᾶ Ἡρωνος μητ(ρός)
 Ἐλένης ἀπὸ ἀμφόδο(ν) Κιλίκ(ων)·
 [ὁ] πατήρ μου, Ἡρων Διδᾶ
 τοῦ Ἡρωνος μητροῦς
 Μ.σθαιον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ]
 10 ἀμφόδον τελῶν τῇ[ν]
 λαογραφίαν ἐτελεύτ[ησεν]
 τῷ Μεχεῖρ μηνὶ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους) Ἀντ[ων(ίνου)]
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. [ἀξιῶ]
 15 ταγῆναι αὐτοῦ τῷ [ὄνομα]
 ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει·
ιν.σῖασε[.].—
 (ἔτους) κγ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Μεχ(εῖρ) λ

Column II

- (m. altera?) πγ
 (m. 3) .κα[. . . κ]ολ(λημ—) οα τάξεως [. . .]
 .ξη Ἰσῶ() συνγο() [. . .]

- Τιμαγένη βασιλικῶ) γραμματεῖ) Ἀρσ[ινοίτου]
- 5 παρὰ Διονυσιοδώρου [ἀφῆλικος]
δι' ἐπιτρόπου Ἰσιδώρου [2-6]
κατοίκου τῶν ζῶσε ἀνδρ[ῶν]
Ἑλλήνων ἀναγρ(αφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ[ον]
Μοήρεως· ὁ πατήρ μου
- 10 ρίων Διονυσιοδώρου τοῦ Ἡ[ρα-]
κλείδου μη(τρὸς) Ἡραίδος .[. . . .]
νος ὑπερετῆς κάτοικος ἐτε-
λε[ύτ]ησεν ἔτι πάλα[ι]· διὸ ἐπ[ιδί-]
δωμι ὅπως ταγ[ῆ] ἐν τῇ]
- 15 τετελευτηκότ(ω) τάξει ὥ[ς] ἐπ[ι]
τῶν ὁμοίων· Διονυσόδωρ[ος]
ἀφῆλ[ι]ξ δι' ἐπιτρόπου Ἰσ[ιδώρου]
ἐπιδέδωκα καθὼς π[ρόκειται]
(ἔτους) κγ Ἀντωνίν[ου]
- 20 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Τῦ[βι.]
Τιμα... κ[. . .]ε() π[. . . .]
[. .]ογ.ε[. . .]ς. .[. . . .]
-

Column I

- 1 See Mertens, *Les Services de l'état*, p. 75 and O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 116 on numbered certificates.
- 2-3 This and the succeeding certificate are the only two I know of (since the publication of BGU 17 and 254, see BL I, p. 33) which contain such bureaucratic notations regarding the status of the deceased.
- 2 ἐπὶ ἄλλω(ν) τό(πων): short for ἐπὶ ἀμφόδον Βιθυνῶν Ἄλλων Τόπων?
- 3 δι(ὰ) βοη(θοῦ): Cf. P. Petaus 4-8 *fin.* where a *boethos* signs his name.
- 4 γραμματεῦσι μητρο(πόλεως): For their duties and functions, see Mertens, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-7.
- 19 Μεχ(εῖρ) λ = February 25, 160 (leap year; see 2223.14 note).

Column II

- 3 .ξη: This is probably the age of the deceased, since he is described as ὑπερετῆς (l. 12). If he were sixty-eight, he would be three years over the maximum taxable age.
Ἰσιώ(): short for ἀμφοδον Βιθυνῶν Ἰσιώνας or ἀμφοδον Ἰσίου Δρόμον? or else Ἰσιώ(ν)-συνγρ(αμματε-)?
- 7-8 κατοίκου τῶν ζῶσε ἀνδρ[ῶν] Ἑλλήνων: See 2220.5 note and introd.
- 13 ἔτι πάλα[ι]: Cf. P. Oxy. 1111 II 13: δν δηλ(ᾶ) τετελ(ενηκέναι) ἔτι πάλα[ι]; 2761.8: ἐτε[λ]ε[ύτ]η[σεν] ἔτι πά[σ]λαι

Translation: "81. In column 11 of the poll-tax list; in other places 55 years old. Through the aide for the 1st Goose-farm (quarter). (Hd. 2) To the scribes of the

metropolis, from Didas, son of Heron and Helen, from the quarter of the Cilicians. My father, Heron, son of Didas and M.sthaion, and grandson of Didas from the same quarter, paying the poll-tax, died in the month Mecheir of the present 23rd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. (I request) that his (name) be enrolled in the register of those similar. . . . Year 23 Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mecheir 30".

(Hd. 3) "83. . . . Column 71 of the register . . . 68 (years old?). Ision fellow-scribe (?). To Timagenes, royal secretary of the Arsinoite nome, from Dionysodoros (a juvenile) through his guardian Isidoros . . . a katoikos of the 6475 Greek men, registered at the quarter of Moeris. My father, -- rion, son of Dionysodoros and Herais, daughter of N.N., and grandson of Heraclides, over-age and a katoikos died not a long time ago. I therefore submit this so that he may be enrolled (in the) register of the deceased as in similar cases. I have submitted it as (aforementioned). Year 23 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Tybi . . ."

Nr. 2231 Death Certificate

P. 21908
24 × 8.5 cm

Karanis
184/185 A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 8.8 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and lacks a strip from the left side. It was folded three times vertically. Two hands seem to have written the text—the first heavier and more vertical with few ligatures between the letters; the second is slanted to the right in more slender and swifter strokes. I can offer no explanation why a second person would commence writing half way through the document. The hand of the komogrammateus is that of a βραδέως γράφων—heavy block letters, painstakingly formed. Horos reports the death of his blood-brother Achilles, in the month Thoth of the year 184 A.D. He makes the usual request that the name of Achilles be inscribed in the register of the deceased.

[τῷ δεῖνι κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Καραν]ίδος

[π]αρὰ Ὡρον Α[. . .]. τοῦ Ὡρον

μητρὸς Σωτηρίδος ἀπὸ κώμης

[Κα]ρανίδος· ὁμ[ο]πάτριός μου

5 [καὶ] ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφός

[Ἀχ]ιλλᾶς ὑπηρετῆς (m. 2) ἐτελ(εύτησεν) τῷ Θῶθ

[μηνί] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κε (ἔτους)·

[διὸ ἀ]ξιώ ταγῆναι αὐτοῦ

[τὸ ὄ]νομα ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελευτηκότ(ω)ν

10 [τάξει] ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ(ν) ὁμοίων·

(m. 3) [κ]ωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἔσχον τοῦτου

[τὸ ἴσον εἰς ἐ]ξέτασιν·
(m. 2?) [(ἔτους) κε Αἰρηλίου Κομμόδου
[Ἀντωνίνου]ν Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
15 [month] β-

- 6 1. ὑπερετής: The same misspelling appears in SB 7359.7.
11-12 ἔσχον τούτου [τὸ ἴσον]: The phrase is peculiar to certificates directed to village secretaries (Montevocchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 115).
15 The month would not fall after Mecheir (*ibid.*, p. 118).

Translation: "(To N.N., village secretary of Karanis), from Horos, son of A -- and Soteris, and grandson of Horos, from the village of Karanis, My brother, Achilles, of the same father (and) mother, overage, (Hd. 2) died in the (month) Thoth of the present 25th year. I (therefore) request that his name be enrolled in the (register) of the deceased as in similar cases. (Hd. 3) I, N.N., village secretary, have received (the copy) of this for examination. (Hd. 2) (Year 25 of Aurelius) Commodus (Antoninus) Caesar the lord, (month) 2".

Nr. 2232 Declaration of Unwatered Land

P. 21482
6 × 7 cm

Fayum
169 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and marred by large breaks. It is lacking an indeterminable amount after the first six lines. The hand is a skilled cursive one.

Marcus Valerius Antoninus submits to Serenos, royal secretary of the division of Heraklides, a declaration of unwatered land. Since Serenos' sphere of competence, M. Valerius Antoninus' parentage and place of origin are all omitted, it is apparent that this is only a draft.

Abrochia declarations are listed in S. Avogadro, "Le *ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ* di proprietà nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 134-5 and Montevocchi, *La papirologia*, Milan, 1973, p. 187.

Σερρήνω βασιλικῷ Ἀρσινοίτου
παρὰ Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου Ἀντωνείνου
[ἀπογραφόμεναι] κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα
[ὑπὸ Βασσαίου Ρούφου τοῦ λ[α]μ-
5 προτάτου ἡγεμόνος τὰς
ὑπαρχούσας μοὶ περὶ κώ(μην)

- 1 Σερρήνω κτλ.: His attested dates are Aug. 10, 169-Nov. 26, 169 A.D. See Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 41.

- 2 Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου Ἀντωνείνου: Possible, though not definitively demonstrable, is the identity of this person with Marcus Valerius Antoninus Ammonianus in SB 9228 (160 A.D.). There, however, he appears in Syene.
4 [Βασσαίου Ρούφου: Ρού is written above the line. His prefecture is attested from 168 to 169 (G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto", *ZPE* 17 (1975) 297).

Translation: "To Serenos, royal (secretary) of the Arsinoite nome, from Marcus Valerius Antoninus. In accordance with the orders of (Bassaeus) Rufus, the most distinguished prefect, (I am registering) the property belonging to me near the village of . . ."

Nr. 2233 Declaration of Unwatered Land

P. 25145
16.3 × 7.3 cm

Karanis?
ca. 190 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.5 cm, lower 5.4 cm. Folded twice vertically. The head of this light brown papyrus has broken off, as has the lower right corner. What remains is much abraded and tattered. The main hand is large and bold; the second smaller and more refined.

Someone submits for his ward, Marcus Sempronius Heraklides, alias Isidoros, an Antinoite, a declaration of unwatered land.

[. . .] . [. . .] ρου
[. . . ἀπὸ τῆς μητρο-
[πόλεως ἀπο]γραφόμεναι) κατὰ τὰ
κελευσθέντα τὰς ὑ-
5 παρχούσας τῷ φροντι-
ζομένῳ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Μάρκου
Σεμπρωνίου Ἡρακλείδῃ
τῷ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ Ἀντινοίτῃ
καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) ἐν πολλ[α]ῖς
10 σφραγεῖσι κλήρου κατοι-
κικοῦ ἀρούρας [. . .]
σὺν τῇ οὐ[σίᾳ] [. . .]
οὐσας ἐν ἀ[βρόχῳ] πρὸς
τὸ ἐνεστώ[ς] . ἔτος
15 (m. 2) Πτολεμαῖος [κωμογραφ(αμματεὺς) ἔσχον]
τούτου τ[ὸ ἴσον]]

- 6-8 Μάρκου Σεμπρωνίου Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ: A certain Marcus Sempronius Heraklides, a property holder in Karanis, appears in BGU 326 II 5 (189 A.D.).
15 Πτολεμαῖος: A Ptolemaios was village secretary of Karanis in 188/9 A.D. (Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 943).
[κωμογραφ(αμματεὺς)]: It was the village secretary who in the abrochia declarations acknowledged his receipt of a copy (S. Avogadro, *op.cit.*, pp. 151, 177).

Translation: "I . . . (from) the metropolis, register according to the orders the . . . aruras of catoecic kleros-land in many parcels, along with the estate . . . belonging to my ward Marcus Sempronius Heraklides, alias Isidoros, an Antinoite, and however else he is named, as being (unwatered for) the present . . . (year).
(Hd. 2) "I, Ptolemaios, (village secretary, have received the copy) of this".

Nr. 2234 Two Declarations of Unwatered Land

P. 21746
16 × 12.8 cm

Oxyrhynchos
March 3, 219 A.D.

Verso blank. Two sheets of medium dark brown papyrus have been glued together, the left overlapping the right by 0.8 cm. The left sheet is badly shredded, frayed and abraded and breaks half way down its length. The hand is small, neat and practiced.

The almost perfectly preserved right column is written in a broadly spaced, fluid and cursive hand. It is numbered in the upper margin. Upper margin 1 cm, lower 1.8 cm.

From the fragmentary declaration of unwatered land in column I about the only information that can be gleaned is that it was submitted at the behest of the "most powerful superintendant of the inspections" (l. 7) and the prefect, perhaps filling that role.

In column II Aurelia Anubarion (like other women, e.g. P.Fam. Tebt. 51; BGU 139) submits her probably annual (P.Mich. 366, p. 9) report of property left unwatered by the Nile's flooding to the royal secretary alone (e.g. P.Grenf. II 56; P.Oxy. 1459) in the customary month of Phamenoth (S. Avogadro, "Le *ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ* di proprietà nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 188). Aside from the interesting addition to the career of Aurelios Urion this papyrus offers little unusual or noteworthy.

Parallels, as well as a discussion of form and problems of interpretation, are presented by C. Préaux, "Déclaration d'inondation déficitaire du Brooklyn Museum", *Chron. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 122; see also Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 358, n. 36; Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., pp. 323 ff.

Column I

Η]ρακλείδου
]. διαδοχ()
]ας τῆς καὶ Π[]...[]
]ς Ὀξυρυγγειτῶν πόλε[ως]
 5] Διονυσίου κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα
 ὑπὸ τοῦ] λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμό[ρος ...]...

τοῦ κρατίστου π]ρὸς ἐπισκέψει π... ἀπεργ(αφάμην)
]μένης ἀποργ(άφομαι) πρ[ὸς] τὸ ἐγεστος β (ἔτος)
]. . . ουφ[]
 10]. διδι
]. ονομα traces
]. ἐγ τοῦ Παλλαδίου κλήρου
]ανς—
]. σ. μης
 15]λοσιλλα

Column II

πε
 (m. 2) [Αδρη]λίῳ Ὀδρίωνι τῷ καὶ
 Ξενοφῶντι βασιλικῷ
 γραμματεῖ Ὀξυρυγγεῖ(ον)
 5 παρὰ Αδρηλίας Ἀνουβάρ[ι]ο[υ]
 Ερ[μ]ανούβιδος μητρὸς
 Ἀπολλωνίας ἀπὸ πόλεως
 Εδεργέτιδος· ἀποργ(άφομαι) κατὰ
 τὰ κελευσθέντα τὰς ὑπαρ-
 10 χούσας μοι περὶ τὸ Σατύρου
 ἐποίκιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀξυρυγγ-
 χ[εῖτον] νομοῦ (πρότερον) Ἀπολλο-
 φάνους Διοφάντου ἐκ τοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Χαριδῆ-
 15 [μ]ον κλήρου (μοναρχάβου) (ἀρούρας) γ ἀβρόχου·
 (ἔτους) β Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
 Εδσεβοῦς Εδτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
 Φ[α]μενῶν ζ· (m. 3) Αδρηλία
 20 Ἀνουβάρ[ι]ον δι' ἐμοῦ Αδρηλίου
 Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιδέδωκα·

Column I

1-2 Η]ρακλείδου: A certain Ηρακλείδης βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν στρατηγίαν appears in P.Oxy. 2563.18. Since he was in office ca. 170 A.D., it is
 quite clear that he is not the addressee of this declaration, which is followed by one
 written fifty years later. It is also easier to explain the genitive case if ἐποίκιον is
 restored (scil. [τῷ δεῖνι κομογραμματεῖ Η]ρακλείδου [ἐποίκιον])—a village well-attested
 in the Oxyrhynchite nome (P.Oxy. 1430.7 note).

- 6-7 τοῦ κρατίστου π[ρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι: Cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* I 41 col. III 14; PSI 1066.4; P.Oxy. 970; Sijpesteijn, "Einige Papyri aus der Giessener Papyrussammlung", *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 131-132 for other appearances of this official.
- 7 π... ἀπεργ(αφάμην): The obvious solution is to read προσαπεργ(αφάμην). However, the traces do not allow it. The two middle letters are hopelessly damaged, and the letter preceding alpha seems to be iota, not sigma.
- 12 Παλλάδιον κλήρ[ον: This kleros is new.

Column II

- 1 πε: The number of the document in the τόμος συγκολλήσιμος is preserved in several returns of unwatered land (Préaux, *op. cit.*, p. 124). P.Oxy. 1549 and 1433 preserve continuous sections of a single roll which are addressed to three different officials. Préaux, *op. cit.*, p. 123, suggests that these rolls were composed in one office and then sent to the various higher officials who were addressed in the individual declarations. Such may have been the case with this roll.
- 2-3 [Ἀύρη]λίῳ Οὐρίωνι τῷ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι: Heretofore Aurelios Urion, alias Xenophon, was known from SB 425 (date unknown) as διαδεχόμενος and from SPP XX 32 (231 A.D.) as βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς Ἡρακλεοπολείτου διαδεχ. καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν σφραττήγιαν. He now appears here in 219 A.D. as royal secretary of the Oxyrhynchite nome. This is the first mention of one person holding this office in two different nomes at different times.
- 6 Ἐρ[μ]ανούβιδος: Such hybrid theophoric names are common; cf. P.Oxy. 1025.3 note; Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* 61.
- 8ff. ἀποργ(άφομαι) κτλ.: The order of elements in declarations from the Fayum differs from that typical of the few examples from Oxyrhynchus, where ἀποργάφομαι is immediately succeeded by the date, e.g.: ἀποργάφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος (P. Mich. Michael, p. 61). Here any mention of the date is entirely omitted until seven lines later—a displacement which is unusual for both Fayumic and Oxyrhynchite types.
- 8-9 κατὰ τὰ κλευσθέντα: As in P.Fam.Tebt. 52; P.Oslo II 26a. I, II; P.Oslo III 100-104, the phrase is not followed by any indication that these are the orders of the prefect.
- 10 Σατύρου ἐποίκιον: known from P.Oxy. 353; 1285.95.
- 14-15 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Χαριδῆ[μ]ου κλήρον: The kleros is new. P.Oxy. 2242.41 mentions an Ἀλεξάνδρου κλήρος.
- 15 (μοναρχάβου): The assessment at one artab per arura was the usual one in the Oxyrhynchite nome (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 15; P.Oxy. 1459.11 note; Préaux, *op. cit.*, p. 131). Sometimes written out in full, as in P.Oxy. 2473.18 and PSI 1328.47, the word is to be construed with γῆ, just as here ἀβρόχον should also be.
- 19 The third hand has only slightly finer strokes and is more vertical.

Translation: (col. II) "To Aurelios Urion, alias Xenophon, royal secretary of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Anubarion, daughter of Hermanubis and Apollonia, from Euergetis polis. In accordance with the orders, I register the land belonging to me at the village of Satyros in the same Oxyrhynchite nome, formerly belonging to Apollophanes, son of Diophantos, being part of the holding of Alexander and Charidemus, namely 3 aruras taxed at one artab, as being unwatered.

The second year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, the 7th of Phamenoth. I, Aurelia Anubarion, made this return through me, Aurelios Apollonios."

Nr. 2235 Camel Declaration (Pl. IV)

P. 21493

11.4 × 5 cm

Fayum

151-153 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2.5 cm. The reddish brown and brittle papyrus is broken off to the left and bottom; what remains is extensively riddled with worm holes. The hand is a vertical and florid cursive.

Pakysis, alias Keknos, declares that the one camel which he registered in the previous year has died and that he has no others.

Parallels are listed in S. Avogadro, "Le *ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ* di proprietà nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 133 and Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*, Milan, 1973, p. 187.

[Δ]ιοφάντῳ βα(σι)λ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)

[] Ἡρακ(λείδου) μ[ε]ρίδο(ς)

[πα]ρὰ Πακύσεως Σατα-

[βο]ῦτος ἐπικαλουμ(ένου) Κέκνο(ν).

5 [ἦν] τῷ [. . .] (ἔτει) ἀπ[ε]ργαφάμ(ην)

[] . . . α κώμην κάμηλ(ον)

[μ]ίαν διεφθάρη.

[ἐπ]εὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔχω ἔτε-

[ρο]ν κάμηλον ἀξιῶ

10 [] ν .[.] .[.] θ() .[.] .δγ.

[] κ τοῦ ἐνε[στ]ῶτος

(m. 2) [. ἔτ]ου[ς] . ἔσχον τοῦτον

[τὸ ἔ]σον ε[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] .

4 Κέκνο(ν): or Βέβνο(ν). addendum onomasticis.

5 Following the year symbol is a long diagonal stroke, rising from left to right.

6 One expects here περὶ τὴν κώμην, but the letters do not allow such a reading.

7 1. διεφθάρη

8-9 [ἐπ]εὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔχω ἔτε[ρο]ν: Similar are P.Lond. II 314.16-17 (p. 72): οὐκ ἔχω ἑτέρους; SPP XXII 90.15-16: ἐπεὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔχω ἐτ[έ]ρους κα[μ]ήλου[ς].

9-10 ἀξιῶ: I find no example of such a concluding petition in a camel or other animal declaration from the Roman period. One expects some verb like ἀπολυθῆναι or ἐλασσωθῆναι in l. 10. Cf. PSI 691.11: διὸ ἀξιῶ τοῦτον ἐλασσωθῆναι (death certificate).

12 Extending from the lacuna and high above epsilon is a diagonal stroke ending in a curl.

Translation: "To Diophantos, royal secretary of the Arsinoite nome, the division of Heraklides, from Pakysis, alias Keknos, son of Satabus. The one camel, (which) I registered . . . for (the past) -th year died. Since I do not have any other camel, I ask . . . of the present year . . . (Hd. 2) I . . . have received the copy of this . . ."

Nr. 2236 Camel Declaration

P. 21914
14 × 7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
January, 152 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 2 cm, upper 0.6 cm. Between the first and second lines is a space of 1.5 cm. Folded four times vertically. The dark brown, brittle papyrus is badly damaged; all of the fourth and most of the third folds are missing. The large, vertical hand is skilled—almost fancy.

Tesenuphis of Soknopaiu Nesos reports to the strategos and royal secretary the number of camels in his possession for the year 151/2 A.D. Although the exact numbers are lost, it appears that his herd has enjoyed an increase.

Σοκνο(παίου) Ν[ήσον κάμηλ(οι). πῶλ(οι).]

Τέ[ρακ]ι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρ[σ]ι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) [μερίδος]

δ[ιὰ] Ἀπολλωνίου διαδ[όχου καὶ]

Διοφάντῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γραμματεῖ τ[ῆς αὐτῆς μερίδ(ος)]

5 παρὰ Τεσενούφως [τοῦ]

[ε]ως τοῦ Τεσενούφω[ως ἀπὸ κόμης]

[Σο]κνο(παίου) Νήσον· οὐ[δ]ὲ ἀπεγραψάμην

[τῶ] διεληλ(υθότι) ἰδ (ἔτει) [ἐπὶ τῆς προγεγραμ(μένης)]

κόμης καμή[λους τελείους ± 3]

10 [πῶ]λον ἓνα [τοὺς αὐτοὺς?]

καμήλους τ[ελείους . ἀπο-]

γ[ρ]άφομαι καὶ [εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιε (ἔτος)]

[ἐπὶ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς [κόμης καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐπι-]

[γονῆ]ς [α]ὐτῶ[ν ἐπιγενομένων πῶ-]

15 [λους .] διὸ [ἐπιδίδωμι .]

(m. 2) [ἀπε]γρ(άφησαν) παρὰ [στρ(ατηγῶ) κάμηλ(οι). πῶλ(οι). Μεχ(εῖρ).]

(m. 3) [ἀπ]εγρ(άφησαν) π[αρὰ βασιλ(ικῶ) γραμματεῖ κτλ.]

2 Τέ[ρακ]ι: The first cited date is August, 152 in P. Grenf. II 62a (Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 39), but here he is already in office in January.

3 διαδ[όχου]: Cf. P. Oxy. 59.7, 2113.2, 2114.1; PSI 940.2 where strategoi are represented by their deputies.

5 Τεσενούφως: Allowing for the widespread occurrence of the name, it is still not unlikely that this report succeeds that submitted by two brothers of the same name, sons and grandsons of men with the same name, in 151 A.D. (BGU 358). Since, however, the numbers of livestock are with one exception lacking in this papyrus, it would be too risky to posit unquestionable identity.

10 [τοὺς αὐτοὺς?]: What may otherwise have stood in the lacuna is difficult to suggest, since I find no texts with parallel phrasing.

11 τ[ελείους]: Possible are also π[έντε], τ[έσσαρες], τ[ρεῖς].

11–12 [ἀπο]γ[ρ]άφομαι καί: According to P. Mich. Michael 8.11 note, this adverbial καί is relatively infrequent: e.g. P. Grenf. II 45.9; BGU 352.13.

13 The report of offspring is placed after the date as in BGU 51, 52 and 629.

16 [Μεχ(εῖρ).]: When the date in camel declarations is preserved it always lies in the first week of Mecheir (January 26–February 24); see P. Lond. II 304.20 note (p. 71).

16–17 Between these subscriptions is a crooked line—perhaps a haphazard mark, or part of some abbreviation.

17 [ἀπ]εγρ(άφησαν) π[αρὰ]: The letters are very uncertain.

Translation: “Soknopaiu Nesos: (– camels, – foals). To Hierax, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, (the division) of Heraklides, through Apollonios his representative, (and) to Diophantos, royal secretary (of the same division), from Tesenuphis, son of – is and grandson of Tesenuphis (from the village of) Soknopaiu Nesos. (The – adult) camels and one foal, which (I declared for the above mentioned) village in the last and 14th year, I also declare (as the same adult) camels (for the present 15th year in) the same (village as well as their offspring— – foals). I, therefore, (submit this). (2nd hd.) (– camels, – foals) were declared at the office of the (strategos, Mecheir –). (3rd hd.) (– camels, – foals) were declared at (the office of the royal secretary, Mecheir –).”

Nr. 2237 Camel Declaration

P. 21922

14 × 6.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

161 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.8 cm. Folded five times horizontally; the bottom-most part is missing. The papyrus is dark brown and brittle; however, it is in relatively good condition. The swift, skilled cursive slants to the right.

Complete except for minor lacunae and the signatures, this camel declaration is submitted by the same two, Tesenuphis and Pakysis, who reported their camels in BGU 852 in 167 A.D.

[Σο]κνο(παίου) Νήσον κά[μηλοι 5-]

[Τ]έρακι στρατ(ηγῶ) καὶ Τειμαγένει

βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδο(ς).

[π]αρὰ Τεσενούφως νιοῦ Τεσ[ε-]

5 νούφως πρεσβυτέρου ἐπικαλουμ[ένου]

Σείφωνος καὶ Πακύσεως νιοῦ

[Τ]εσενούφως νεωτέρου ἐπικαλ[ουμ(ένου)]

[Κιαλ]ῆτος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κόμ(ης)

[Σ]οκνο(παίου) Νήσον διὰ φροντιστοῦ

10 Τεσ[ε]νούφως Τεσενούφως ἀπὸ τῆ[ς]

αὐτῆς κόμης· ἀφ' ὧν ἀπεγ[ραψ-]

[ἀμεθα τ]ῷ διελ(ηλυθότι) κγ (ἔτει) οἱ τετελ(ειωμένοι) η πώ[λ-]
 [ο]υς οἱ προγεγραμμένοι κάμηλ(οι)
 [δι]εφθάρησαν κάμηλ(οι) β⁻ [τοὺς]
 15 [δε] λοι(ποὺς) καμήλ(ους) ἔξ ἀπογραφόμεθ[α]
 [εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κδ (ἔτος) κτλ.]

4-8 Τεσ[ε]νούφως πρεσβυτέρου ἐπικαλουμ[ένου] Σείφωνος . . . [Τ]εσενούφως νεωτέρου
 ἐπικαλ[ουμ(ένου) Κιαλ]ῆτος: They are both known from BGU 358, where they declare
 their camels for 150/1 A.D. There in l. 5 read Σείφωνος instead of Σείφακος.

8 [Κιαλ]ῆτος: From Coptic Ⲫⲁⲗⲉ, "lame, crippled".

12-13 l. τῶν τετελ(ειωμένων) η πώλων τῶν προγεγ. καμήλ(ων).

Translation: "Soknopaiu Nesos: 6 camels. To Hierax, strategos, and to Timagenes, royal secretary of the Arsinoite nome, the division of Heraklides, from Tesenuphis, son of Tesenuphis the elder, called Siphon, and from Pakysis, son of Tesenuphis the younger, called Kiales, both from the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, through their representative Tesenuphis, son of Tesenuphis, from the same village. From the 8 grown foals, the aforementioned camels, which we declared in the last 23rd year, 2 camels have died. (The) remaining six camels we declare (for the present 24th year, etc. . . .)"

Nr. 2238 Camel Declaration

P. 21455

fg. a: 7.5 × 8.1 cm

fg. b: 7.2 × 5.5 cm

Fayum

January 29, 167 A.D.

Upper margin 1.8 cm, left 1.5 cm, lower 2.5 cm. The medium dark brown papyrus, which has been folded vertically four times and perhaps once horizontally in the middle, consists of two fragments between which a lacuna of indeterminable size gapes. The hand is a small neat cursive.

On the verso, parallel to the fibers, is one line of Demotic. Most of the letters have faded to the point of illegibility. K.-T. Zauzich reads tentatively 'mrj' . . .

Two brothers declare that they have one camel for the year 167 A.D. The fragmentary text is interesting only for its confirmation of a disputed reading in another Berlin papyrus (see lines 3-4 note).

[κά]μηλ(ος) α
 Οὐεγέτωι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
 Ηρακ(λείδου) μερίδ(ος) διὰ Πάπ-

5 που γεγν(μνασιαρχηκότος) διαδεχο(μένον) τήν
 στρ(ατηγίαν) καὶ Σερήνωι βασιλ(ικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδ(ος) διὰ Εὐδαί-
 μονος διαδεχο(μένον) τήν βασιλ(ικὴν) γρ(αμματεῖαν)
 π[αρά] .[]ῆτος καὶ Εὐριεν.ς
 [ἀμφοτέρω]ν Ἀρπαγάθου
 10 τ[οῦ] ± 5] οὗτος ἀπὸ κώμης
 []
 [± 6] .επ. .κα[]
 [± 6] κάμηλ(ον) ἐν[α ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα)]
 [εἰς τὸ ἐνεστ]ῶς ζ (ἔτος) . .[. . .]

15 (m. 2) [ἀπ(εγράφη) παρ]ὰ στρ(ατηγῷ) κ[ά]μηλ(ος) α Μεχ(εῖρ) δ
 (m. 3) [ἀπ(εγράφη) κάμ(ηλος) α Μεχ(εῖρ) δ
 (m. 4) [ἔξ(ηριθμῆθη)] παρὰ στρ(ατηγῷ) συ(μφώνως)
 (m. 5) [ἔξ(ηριθμῆθη) παρὰ βασιλ(ικῷ) γραμματεῖ] συ(μφώνως)

1 In the lacuna stood the village—probably Soknopaiu Nesos, abbreviated simply Σοκνο(), as in P.Lond. II, pp. 74-76.

3-4 Πάππου γεγν(μνασιαρχηκότος): No. 71 in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*, Amsterdam, 1970. This text supports Henne's conjecture (Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 54, n. 3) that the reading proposed by BL I for BGU 852.3: διὰ Πάππου γεγν(μένον) διαδ[] is in error. Unfortunately, BGU 852 was either lost in the war or misplaced since then, and my colleagues in E. Berlin offer little hope of finding either it or a reproduction. I would suggest, nonetheless, that the text there might have read as here: διὰ Πάππου γεγν().

12].επ. . . : or].ετ. . . The traces are not suitable for reading ἔτει.

14 Following zeta is a lambda-shaped figure, the right member of which is vertical. If it is the symbol for ἔτος, it is an unusual one. If this is in fact the seventh year of Marcus Aurelius a serious problem arises. In BGU 852.2, which is dated two days before this text—January 27/8, 167—the name of the strategos is not Vegetus, but]μ. . . . [—according to Plaumann, cited by V. Martin, "Stratèges et basilicogrammates du nome Arsinoite à l'époque romaine", *Archiv* 6 (1920) 158 note 3. However, it is possible that on a damaged papyrus a certain letter combination making up the name Vegetus might have appeared like mu and iota.

Translation: "(Village:) 1 camel. To Vegetus, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the division of Heraklides, through Pappos, ex-gymnasiarch, acting deputy-strategos, and to Serenos, royal secretary of the same division, through Eudaimon, acting deputy-royal-secretary, from -es and Herieus, (both) sons of Harpagathes and grandsons of -us, from the village (We declare) one camel (for the present) 7th year (?). (Hd. 2) 1 camel (was declared) at the office of the strategos, Mecheir 4. (Hd. 3) 1 camel was declared, Mecheir 4. (Hd. 4) (It has been tallied) at the office of the strategos, in corroboration. (Hd. 5) It has been tallied at the office of the royal secretary, in corroboration".

Nr. 2239 Petition

P. 21707

11.5 × 10.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

October 31, 17 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.5 cm, upper 1.5 cm. The papyrus is medium light brown and damaged here and there by worm holes. It breaks at the fifteenth line, at the conclusion of the body of the document. The practiced, vertical hand is easily legible.

Panephrummis, son of Paus, a priest in Soknopaiu Nesos, sends to Setabus, chief of the village elders, a report of burglary and petition for redress. According to his description of events, one night some thieves broke into his house and stole a number of articles. Instead of incorporating the list of missing articles into the petition itself (as, for example, in P. Oxy. 1272; P. Ryl. 127) the scribe appended a list (as in P. Tebt. 47) which has since broken off.

- Ξε[τα]βοῦτι ἡγουμένωι Σοκνεπαίου Νήσου
τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος παρὰ Πανεφρό-
μιος τοῦ [Π]αυτοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἱερέως
[τ]ῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης· νυκτὶ τῇ πε-
5 ρούσῃ εἰς τὴν δ' τοῦ μηνὸς Νέου {Σεβασ}
Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς ληστρι-
κῶι τρόπῳ τοῦ δ' (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσάμ μοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώ-
μη δ[ι]πυργίαν οἱ καὶ μεθάραντες οἵπερ
10 [αν] θυρ[ί]δα{ν} ἔνδον γενόμενοι ἀπηνέ-
καντο τὸ καθ' ἑ[ν] τῶν ὑπογεγραμμέ-
νων· διὸ ἐπιδίδο[μι] σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως
[ἀνα]ζητήσας τοῦ[ς] αἰτίους ἔχῃς [.].
[] ε. νη. [.] τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ὧν
15 [προσῆκον ἦ] ἐδύχ[ει]

1. 8 ὑπάρχουσαν 9 ὑπερῶν 11 μετάραντες 12 ἐπιδίδωμι

1 ἡγουμένωι: Although most letters of petition were addressed to the strategos, some were directed to lesser officials (cf. Johnson *et al.*, P. Ryl. II, pp. 117–119; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 33). The ἡγούμενος was head of the village elders, but was also regarded as an elder himself (A. Tomsin, *Etude sur les presbyteroi*, p. 516; P. Fouad 19; P. Ryl. 196.9 note). In addition to their other duties the elders sometimes assumed the role of police (Tomsin, *ibid.*, p. 500; P. Ryl. 89 introd.; but see also in this connection BGU 2083.1 note).

3 πρεσβυτέρου ἱερέως: Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I, pp. 48–9, explains the title as the Greek translation of the Demotic word which is sometimes also transliterated into Greek as λεσώνης.

5–7 In his haste the writer forgot to finish the date and so parenthesized the year within the formulaic wording of the complaint instead of writing it between the lines or in the margin.

9 διπυργίαν: According to F. Luckhard, “Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen u. römischen Ägypten”, diss. Bonn, 1914, pp. 71–72, the οἰκία διπυργία must have been a popular building form, with two double-storey towers aligned either on a frontal axis or on a lateral one. For an example of the latter, see A. Erman, *Ägypten*, Bd. II, p. 389.

μεθάραντες: The word occurs for the first time in P. Merton 5.11.19. Here as there, the prepositional prefix is falsely aspirated (Mayser, *Grammatik* I § 45).

12 διὸ ἐπιδίδο[μι]: This diverges from the more usual concluding formulae yet finds parallel in P. Strasb. 216.11; P. Ryl. 135.13.

14 τυχεῖν: How the transition might be made from final clause (lines 12–13) to indirect statement is uncertain—perhaps with ὥστε or πρὸς τό. If the style of the letter were somewhat more primitive it would be tempting to emend the infinitive into a subjunctive, as was necessitated in P. Ryl. 135.16.

15 [προσῆκον ἦ]: Restored from P. Ryl. 129.17.

Translation: “To Setabous, chief of the elders of Soknopaiu Nesos in the division of Heraklides, from Panephrummis, son of Paus, an elder-priest of those from the same village. In the night before the 4th of the month Neos Sebastos, certain individuals, making a thievish incursion—in the 4th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus—into my double-towered house in the same village and removing the upper door and getting inside, carried off everything here written below. I therefore submit to you this petition so that having made inquiry you may take the guilty persons . . . and that they may receive (due) punishment . . . Farewell.”

Nr. 2240 Petition

P. 21890

14.7 × 11 cm

Phylakitike Nesos

138–142 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.5 cm, upper 1.5 cm. The light brown and fine-textured papyrus is riddled throughout by breaks and wormholes. The script is a large irregular cursive.

A certain Sotas files a charge of burglary against one of the village elders from Phylakitike Nesos. While he was away, the accused entered Sotas' house and was in the act of taking a garment when Sotas returned and caught him *in flagranti delicto*. Further details are scanty, since the papyrus is so badly mutilated.

Αἰλίῳ Νουμισιανῷ στρατηγῷ Ἀρσ[ι]([νοίτου] Θεμ[ιστον])
καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων
παρὰ Σώτου τοῦ Ἡρώνος· τῇ κ' τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Θῶθ Πτ . . .

5 υἱὸς Ψενοβάστιος Ἀδ[η]τ[ο]υ^{μεσ . . ηλ} ὧν πρεσ-

- βύτερος κώμης Φυλ[ακί]τικῆς [Νή]σο(ν)
 ἀνθά[δ]ως π[αρ]α[τυχών?] κ[α]τ' ἐμῇν
 ἀπουσίαν ἐπῆλθε [] . []
 ἐβάσταξε χιτῶνα . [] . . . []
 10 κ[α]ι π[α]ραγενάμεν[ο]ς κ[α]ι κα[τα]λα[βῶ]ν ὁρ-
 [γίζο?]μενος τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνθά[δεία]
 [ἐπέσ]τησα τὸν τῆς κώ(μ)ης ἀρχέφοδ[ον]
 [τὸν ἐ]πέχοντα κ[α]ι μέ[χ]ρι νῦν [τὸν δεῖνα]
 [] παρ' ἐαυτῶ· ὁθεν, κύρ[ι]ε, ο[ὐ] δυνά-
 15 [μενο]ς καθησυχάζε[ιν], ἀξιῶ, [ἐάν σοι]
 [δόξη.] ἀχθῆναι αὐτ[ὸν ἐ]πὶ σε[]

1 *Αἰλίω Νομισιανῶ*: In office 138-142 A.D. (Bastianini, *Strateghi*, pp. 50-51).

5 Pap. νῖος.

Ἀδήτ[ο]ν: *addendum onomasticis*. The fourth letter might be sigma. The superscript, despite all attempts at decipherment, remains unintelligible; the last symbol seems to be for *ἔτος*.

12 [ἐπέσ]τησα: Restored from P. Tebt. 331.15, where it occurs in the same phrase.

13-14 See BGU 2063.15 where the police also hold accused persons in custody. In 2352 a decurion detains a miscreant. In the lacuna stood either the proper name or τὸν αἴτιον.

Translation: "To Aelius Numisianus, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the divisions of (Themistes) and Polemon from Sotas, son of Heron. On the 20th of the present month Thoth, Pt —, the son of Psenobastis and grandson of Adetos (?), being an elder of the village of Phylakitike Nesos, in my absence boldly set foot on my property . . . and carried off a garment Returning and catching him, and (outraged by) his boldness, I summoned the village police who has been guarding (the accused ?) until now. Since I am, my lord, not at all (able) to remain calm, I request that he be brought before you (if you think fit) . . ."

Nr. 2241 Petition?

P. 25122

8 × 12.3 cm

Apias

ca. 155 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm, right 1.8 cm, left (at line 4) 1 cm. The light brown papyrus has lost an indeterminable amount after the first half dozen lines. What remains is abraded and torn in various places. The hand is a neat vertical one offering no difficulties.

With regard to an inquisition which the strategos Onomastos once juridicated, Dionysios, the village secretary of Apias, writes to Onomastos, perhaps asking him once again to step in and regulate affairs in what is apparently a family quarrel between three brothers. The papyrus is noteworthy only for again confirming the existence of Onomastos.

- [Ον]ομάστῳ στρατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμιστον καὶ Πο[λ]έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)
 παρὰ Διονυσί[ο]ν] κωμογρα(ματέως) [Ἀ]πιάδος []
 ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομ(ένης) ἐπὶ σοι Αἰνῆ-
 ος Στοτοήτιος πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς Στο-
 5 τοῆτιν πρεσβ(ύτερον) καὶ Στοτοῆτιν γεώ(τρ(ερον)) ἀπεφῆ-
 νω δ[ι'] ὑπ[ο]μνήμ(ατος) τὸν τ[ῶν] τ[όπων] κωμο-
 γρα[. . .] τας . . . [] . α . ν [.] ν
 [] . [] . ν αντι
 [] β[]

1 [Ον]ομάστῳ: He is otherwise known only from P. Ryl. 88.13, where Wilcken preferred to emend away his name, and 2275 I 1, II 1.

2 Διονυσί[ο]ν] κωμογρ. [Ἀ]πιάδος: unknown.

3 ἀντικαταστάσεως: The ἀντικατάστασις was a preliminary hearing before the strategos, where both parties presented their grievances and claims. If the strategos was not able to regulate the dispute in a manner acceptable to both sides, or if the offense was a serious one, he was obliged to refer the matter to the proper legal channels (see P. Fouad 22.7 note).

Translation: (lines 1-6) "To Onomastos, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the (divisions) of Themistes and Polemon from Dionysios, village secretary in Apias. On the occasion of the confrontation before you of Aunes, son of Stotoetis, with his brothers, Stotoetis the elder and Stotoetis the younger, you declared in a memorandum that the komogrammateus of the districts . . ."

Nr. 2242 Petition

P. 21551

fg. a: 12.5 × 7.9 cm

fg. b: 7.2 × 4.2 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

early 2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2.7 cm, left 3 cm, lower 1.6 cm. The fine-textured and light brown papyrus is preserved in two fragments. Gaping between them is a lacuna of uncertain size—perhaps only a line or two. The script can be compared to P. Ryl. II 174 (pl. 12) and dated to the beginning of the second century A.D.

Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis, and a priest in Soknopaiu Nesos, presents to the strategos a petition, reporting the breaking in and burglarizing of his house while he was away on a farmstead near Heraklia. The occasion of his absence, he reports without any further comment, was the death of a good share of his family. He vacated the house and departed for other regions, wishing perhaps to escape a dangerous contagion which had invaded it, or to recover from the shock of his loss, or both.

This text has been previously published by H. Maehler in *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 222-225, with a plate.

- Fig. a [.] φ στρα(τηγῶ) [Ἀρ]σι(νοῖτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος
 [παρὰ] Στοτοή[τ]εως τοῦ Στοτοήτεως
 [ἱερέ]ως ἀπὸ κόμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου·
 [πρὸς τ]ὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τελευτησάντων
 5 [κατὰ τῇ]ν οἰκίαν μου θυγατέρων μου δύο
 [μετὰ τ]ῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναι-
 [κός] μου καὶ ἄλλων πλείστον, ἀπο-
 [δημή]σας τὰ οἰκόπεδα παρεθέμην
 [.] Πεκῷσι Σαταβοῦτος καὶ
 10 [? γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ] Ὁασῆτι καὶ μετῆλθον
 [εἰς ἐποίκιον] Ἀλμυρᾶς λεγόμενον πε-
 [ρὶ κόμην] Ἡράκλειαν· ἐπιμεί-
 [νας οὖν ἐν αὐ]τῷ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ
 [ἐπανελθὼ]ν τῇ β- τοῦ ὄντος μηνός
 15 [.] ἡδ[ρον] τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ τινων

- Fig. b σν.[
 λησ[
 βεβ[
 αργ.[
 5 τισμ[
 δη α[
 νεσ[
 ευρε[
 τον[

Fig. a:

- 1 Even if the strategos' name extended into the margin, there is room for scarcely more than five letters in the lacuna.
 Εὐδότης? cf. Mussies, *Liste des stratèges*, no. 63.
 4 [πρὸς τ]ὸν: or [κατὰ τ]ὸν are more likely than [εἰς τὸ]ν.
 7-8 ἀπο[δημή]σας: or ἀπο[χωρή]σας.
 9 In the lacuna stood perhaps some designation of Stotoetis' relation to Pekysis: μετόχῳ μου? Cf. P. Aberd. 169.7.
 10 [γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ]: or [ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ]. The former receives support from P. Lond. II 333 (p. 199) = Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 176.12-13: ἡ δὲ Θ(ασ)ῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Πακύσεως Σαταβοῦτος κτλ.—if, in fact, this is the same couple. See also 2216.2, 11.
 The definite article is omitted also before θυγατέρων (l. 5) and γυναι[κός] (l. 6); see Mayser, *Grammatik* II 2, pp. 106ff.; Radermacher, *Neutestamentl. Gramm.*, pp. 113ff.
 11 ἐποίκιον] Ἀλμυρᾶς: Cf. Calderini, *Dizionario* I 2, pp. 3-4.
 15 In the lacuna stood the month.

Fig. b:

- 1 εὑ.[: or σν.[. The third letter could be lambda, delta, mu, e.g. σε-]σὺλ[ημένην .
 2 λησ[τρικῶ] τρόπῳ ?
 3 βεβ[ασταγμένα] ? Cf. P. Tebt. 330.7 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 110.
 4 αργ[ο] : rather than αργυ[ο] ?
 5 τισμ[: or τισλ[.
 5-7 Since in l. 6 δηα[or δηλ[are more likely than δηλ[, the lost text might be provisionally restored: διὸ δὴ ἄ[ξιὸν ἐν καταχωρισμῶ γε-]νέσ[θαι κτλ.
 8 ευρε[: Perhaps ἐὰν . . .] εὐρε[θῶσιν (cf. BGU 46.18-19) or εὐρε[θέντων τῶν αἰτίων.
 9 τον[: Perhaps πρὸς τὸ . . . μένειν μοι] τὸν [λόγον as in P. Tebt. 330.10-11. Here as there, the date is evidently omitted.

Translation: "To -os, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the division of Heraklides, (from) Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis, a (priest) from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos. After the deaths, (at) the present time, (in) my house, of my two daughters (with) their husbands and my wife and many others, I departed, entrusting the buildings to . . . Pekysis, son of Satabus, and his (wife), Thases, and moved (to) the (farmstead) called Halmyras, near the (village) of Heraklia. There I sojourned a few days and (returned) on the 2nd of the present month of . . . to find my house (broken into and burglarized ?) by someone . . ."

Nr. 2243 Petition

P. 21747
 9 × 8 cm

Oxyrhynchite nome
 2/3 cent. A. D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and broken-off on the top and bottom; what remains is relatively free from breaks. The small, vertical and solidly written script (comparable to P. Mert. 75) may be dated to the late second century A. D.

A certain Demetrios, son of Demetrios, brings a complaint against his neighbors, accusing them of encroaching on his property. He asks the addressee (probably the strategos of the nome) to send the village secretary so that he can survey the land and establish the rightful boundaries.

Petitions of this sort are well-attested and given short discussion in Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 255; *Opera minora* II, p. 395.

]. . . ον[± 9]
] μ . δημο[.]

[παρὰ] Δημητ[ρι]ῶν τοῦ Δημητ[ρι]ῶν
 τοῦ Ὡρίωνος Εἰρηνοφυλακίου
 5 τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθεαίως· ὑπάρχονσί
 μοι περὶ Σιναρὸν τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου(ν)
 ἐκ τοῦ Μαχαισχροῦ σὺν τῷ Εὐδ-
 [κλ]εῖδον ἄρουνται δύο ὧν τὰ κα-

- τ' ἔτος δημόσια διορθοῦμαι
 10 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου· οἱ δὲ γειτνιῶντες
 αὐταῖς ἐπίβασιν συνεστήσαντο,
 ἥς χάριν βουλόμενος ἀφορισ-
 θῆναι ταύτας ἀξιῶ ἐπιστεῖλαι
 τῷ τῆς κώμης κομογρα[αμ-]
 15 ματεῖ Ὠρίωνι ἐπελθεῖν [καί]
 τὸ πεδὶον ἀφορίσαι [...]
 [...] το []

4-5 *Εἰρηνοφυλακίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαίως* (l. *Ἀλθαίως*): This tribe and deme, as far as I can determine, appear together only in P.Oxy. 625 and SB IV 7393.8. Cf. Calderini, *Dizionario* I 1, pp. 214-16.

6 *Σινάρυ*: In the lower toparchy, according to P.Oxy. 1462.26-27.

7 *Μαγαισχρον scil. κλήρον*: *addendum onomasticis*.

11 *ἐπίβασιν*: Cf. P.Mert. 5.7: *ἐπιβεβηκέναι ἐπὶ μέρος τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς*.

14 Demetrios correctly requests the village secretary to survey the land. Among his other responsibilities the secretary also had to administrate the proper division of property, e.g. P.Amh. 31; P.Tebt. 78; BGU 616.

15 *Ὠρίωνι*: As far as I can determine, this village secretary is not attested elsewhere.

Translation (lines 3-16): "... (from) Demetrios, son of Demetrios and grandson of Horion, belonging to the Eirenophylakion-tribe, the Althaius-deme. There belong to me at Sinary, in the Oxyrhynchite nome, in the holding of Magaischros with that of Eukleides, two aruras on which I pay the yearly taxes out of my own pocket. My neighbors have contrived an encroachment upon these. It is because of this that I am desirous of having them surveyed, and I request (you) to send for Horion, the komogrammateus of the village, to come and demarcate the tract ..."

Nr. 2244 Opening of a Testament

P. 21893 recto
 18.4 × 14.1 cm

Alexandria
 186 A.D.

Lower margin 3.7 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and has lost large sections from the top, the right and left. The script is upright and square; several orthographical errors arose during the copying from the original document. On the verso are the remnants of a letter in a slanting script, probably to be ascribed to the third century.

Preserved on the recto of this papyrus is the record of the opening of a Roman testament. Although both the will (the text of which once constituted the major portion of this papyrus) and the record of the opening ceremonies were originally written in Latin, they were later translated into Greek. It is furthermore likely that this text is a copy of the translation (see l. 11 note) and was produced

for one of the interested parties (see C. Roberts, P. Oxy. 2348 introd., p. 139, n. 1). A break in the text renders the testator anonymous; however, the date and origin of the document are easily determined. The remainder of the text follows well-known patterns, but interesting peculiarities make interpretation difficult.

Although this papyrus was acquired through a dealer at Eshmunen, it was probably found at Oxyrhynchos (other papyri in the same lot come from that site) where the addressee of the letter on the verso may have lived.

Documents displaying similar features are few: P. Hamb. 73; PSI 1325 = SB 7630; BGU 326 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 316 = Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusustiniani*. Pars Tertia, Florence, 1968, no. 50; BGU 1655; BGU 1695 = *Fontes* 47 = Amelotti, *Il Testamento Romano*, no. 7; *Testamento* 6; P. Oxy. 2348 = *Testamento* 11. Pertinent literature includes Hans Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1919, paragr. 36ff., 43; Amelotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-110; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 199.

-
]. νθεω . [] θη απο[] ή διαθήκη ἐγένετο
]ων Μαίων Αὐτοκράτορι [Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομ-
 [μόδῳ τὸ] ε̅ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Τιβερίῳ τὸ β̅ [ὑπάτοις· (ἔτους) κς Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καί-]
 [σαρος Μάρκου] Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Ε[ὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
 Ἀρμενια-]
 5 [κοῦ Μηδικ]οῦ Π[αρθικ]οῦ Σαρματικῶ Γερμ[α]ν[ικοῦ Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου
 Egyptian]
 [month, day] . . [testator] . [] διεθέμ[ην ὡς πρόκειται
]ερίον[]ι σφρα[γίσαντες
]κιανὸς Φιλοσαρᾶπις, Αὐρήλιος
]ς, Αὐρήλιος Θέων, Μάρκος ο[] . . [α]
 10 Γάιος Ἀντώνιος Χαιρήμων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, Τίτ[ος
 Μάρκος Μάριος Τι]βερεῖνος, Λούκιος Τίτι[τι]ος Νεμε[σ]ιανός· ἦν[οίγη καὶ
 ἀνεγνώσθη ἐν]
 [τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ] πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Πατρικοῖς πρὸς τῇ στατιῶν[ι τῆς εἰκοστῆς
 τῶν κληρονομιῶν]
 [καὶ ἐλευθεριῶν] πρὸ ε̅ Εἰδῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάτοις
] . σφραγιστὰς τῆς ἀνοίξεως οἱ καὶ ἐπ[ι]γνόντες
 15 Ἀσκλη]πιάδης, Τίτος Πακτουμ[ή]ιος, Αὐρήλιος Θέων, Μάρκος
 Ἀ]χιλλεύς, Γάιος Ἀντώνιος[ς] Χαιρήμων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος
] Μάρκος Μάρ[ι]ος Τιβερεῖνος[ς], Λούκιος Τίτιος
 Νουμι[σιανός]

2 πρὸ . Εἰδῶν or πρὸ . Καλανδῶν Μαίων.

3 1. Ἀκιλίῳ Γλαβρίῳ : Acilius Glabrio was consular colleague of Commodus in 186 and one of the outstanding men of his day (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* I 69).

- 6 διεθέμ[ην κτλ.: For the restoration, see SB 5294.16 and P.Oxy. 2348 II 48.
- 9 Μάρκος ο[] . . [α]: Identification with Μάρκος [] Ἀλλεως in lines 15–16 is not out of the question, for there is no way of determining whether or not the names may have been distinguished from the rest of the text by indentation. If they were in fact indented, Marcus' full name may have easily bridged the gap between lines fifteen and sixteen and concluded with the cognomen Achilles.
- 11 ἡν[όλη κτλ.: For the restoration, see BGU 326 II 10; 1655 III 60; 1695.4. In all probability this papyrus is a copy of the translation—the misspelling in line three seems more the result of mechanical error than one of ignorance or incompetence; the attestation to the opening and reading is written by the same hand (see Grenfell and Hunt, P.Oxy. 907.28 note); the omission of every oath and the simple listing of the witnesses were time-saving devices.
- 12 ἐν Πατριοῖς: Previous references to the Patrika usually appear in connection with ἡ ἐν Πατριοῖς βιβλιοθήκη (P.Lugd.-Bat. II 1.19; P.Lips. 123.3; BGU 981 I 9; P.Lugd.-Bat. VI 15.52) where the official journals and reports collected from all over Egypt were preserved. The expression ἐν Πατριοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος is once attested (BGU 832.25). In this text, however, no reference to either library or tribunal is intended. Instead, the Alexandrine geography gains a new building in the στατιῶν τῆς εἰκοστῆς κτλ., which probably formed part of a whole complex of judicial buildings in the city. Cf. Schubart, "Alexandrinische Urkunden aus der Zeit des Augustus", *Archiv* 5 (1913) 70; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 60.
- It was prescribed that testaments be opened and read in public places (*Lex Julia vicesimaria ap. Paulum, Sent. IV 6.2: testamenta in municipio colonia oppido praefectura vico castello conciliabulo facta in foro vel basilica . . . aperiri recitarique debebunt* (Kreller, *op.cit.*, p. 395). In only two other texts (BGU 326 II 11; Amelotti, *op.cit.*, no. 6 II 12, whence the restoration of this line is taken) does the opening take place before the στατιῶν τῆς εἰκοστῆς κτλ. in Arsinoitōn polis—a procedure which Kreller suggests was the rule in major cities. In smaller localities, where there was no tax-office, permission would have been granted to have the will read before the municipal authorities (Kreller, *op.cit.*, § 43 II 2).
- 13 πρὸ εἰδῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν i.e. Μαίων: May 11. The peculiar month-dating, where καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν replaces the month, has no parallel. For the regnal dating following the consular year, cf. Amelotti, *op.cit.*, no. 6 II 13; P.Oxy. 2348 II 46.
- 14 σφραγιστά . . . καὶ ἐπ[ι]γνόντε[ς]: For the phrasing, cf. P.Oxy. 2348 II 53 and BGU 1655 III 62.
- ἀνοίξεως: The word occurs here for the second time in papyri; cf. P.Oxy. 2109.10,32. There is a sizeable break in the papyrus between the omicron and iota of οἱ.
- Seven witnesses both at the writing and at the opening of the testament were the rule. Their presence is indicated either by listing four names and marking the others as οἱ λοιποί, *ceteri*, *reliqui*, or by listing all seven and their declarations on oath. However, strict adherence to these canons was not observed (see BGU 326 III 12f.; Kreller, *op.cit.*, §§ 36 I; 43 III 3). This text is unique in that it lists all witnesses at both ceremonies but omits their declarations. At the writing were at least eight; at the opening at least seven. How far the names extended into the lacunae is indeterminable, but many more on either occasion would be unprecedented. A comparison of the names of the witnesses at the sealing and opening of the will reveals that only four were present at both ceremonies. Likewise in BGU 326 only two witnesses were present on both occasions—and one of them was the testator!
- 15 Of all the people mentioned in this text only Titus Pactumeius can tentatively be identified. His father may have been T. Pactumeius Magnus, prefect in 176/7 A.D.
- 17 Νουμισιανός: spelled Νεμεσιανός in line eleven.

Translation: "(This testament was made in . . .) on the -th of May (in the) 5th (consulate) of Emperor (Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus) and the 2nd of Acilius Glabrio, (in the 26th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus) Aurelius Commodus Antoninus (Pius Felix Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus) Sarmaticus Germanicus (Britannicus Maximus day, month) . . . I, N.N., have made the will (as given above) . . . Sealers were — cianus Philosarapis, Aurelios . . ., N.N., Aurelios Theon, Marcus . . ., Gaius Antonius Chairemon, also called Apollonios, Titus . . ., Marcus Marius Tiberinus, Lucius Titius Nemesianus. It was opened (and read in Alexandria) in Egypt in the Patrika at the office (of the five-percent-tax on inheritances and manumissions) 5 days before the Ides of the same month in the same (consulates) . . . Sealers who acknowledged their seals at the opening were . . . Asclepiades, Titus Pactumeius, Aurelios Theon, Marcus . . . Achilles, Gaius Antonius Chairemon, also called Apollonios, . . ., Marcus Marius Tiberinus, Lucius Titius Numisianus."

Nr. 2245 Declaration on Oath

P. 21708
13 × 14 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
14–37 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1 cm. Between the upper entries an intercolumnar space of 3.7 cm; between the lower entries 2.7 cm. Indeterminable amounts have broken off from the top and bottom. The light brown papyrus contains fragments of four entries. Although from the upper two entries only a half dozen different letters remain, they suffice to identify a hand different from that of the lower two entries. Both hands are practiced and easily legible, but the orthography of the second is abominable.

The contents of the most fully preserved document (and by extrapolation also of the lower right hand one) consist of sworn promises to cultivate land. However, the status of the declarants and the type of land which they obligate themselves to farm are not at all clear. If in l. 14 the mention is of catocic land, this text would then be one of the rare witnesses to forced cultivation of this category of land (Poethke, *Epimerismos*, p. 28, lists only one—P.Mich. 397). Otherwise, these documents resemble most P.Mich. 545, an affidavit of a state farmer, but there the conditions under which an oath were extracted were different from those which obtained here (see E. Husselman, P.Mich. 545 introd.).

Column I

(m.1) [] (ἀσπάσαι) Λη' []

(m.2) Παπύς Παπάτος το[ῦ] ± 7 []

- ωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σοκνοπ[αί]ου
 Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος
 5 τοῖς παρὰ Ποπλίῳ Ἀριήῳ
 Ἀσπλῳ· ὁμνύο Τιβέριον Καῖσαρ[α]
 Σεβαστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ υἱὸν
 Σεβαστὸν εἰ μὴν ἐκοσίως <καὶ> εὐθαι-
 λετας γεοργουσαι ἐν τῷ [Κ]ερ-
 10 βασι προτερον Σαταβοῦτος
 Παπάι(τ)ος λομας ἀρ[ο]ύρας ἑξ
 ἡμισονς (γίνονται) ἀρούρας ζL [ἐν]
 δυσὴ σφραγεῖσαι α[...].
 [] .κατο[ικικ-?]

Column II

- (m. 1) οὐλ[ή]
 κα[
 οὐλ[ή]
 (m. 2) Εριεῦς Ν. [καὶ]
 5 Εριεῦς Α[τῶν ἀπὸ]
 τῆς Σοκν[οπαίου] Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου
 μερίδος τ[οῖς] παρὰ Ποπλίῳ Ἀριήῳ
 Ἀσπλῳ[ι ± 6 ὁμνύομεν Τιβέρι-]
 Καῖσαρος [Σεβαστ- Αὐτοκράτορ-]
 10 Θεοῦ υἱ[ο- Σεβαστ- εἰ μὴν ἐκοσίως καὶ]
 εὐθα[ιλετας γεοργουσαι ± 5]
 ἐν τῷ[προ-]
 τερων[]
[]

Column I l. 6 Ἀσπρωι, ὁμνύω 7 Σεβαστόν 8 Σεβαστοῦ, ἐκοσίως, αὐθαιρέτως 9 γεω-
 γῆσαι, Κερβασήτι 10 πρότερον 12 ἡμισον ἀρουραι 13 δυσι σφραγίσαι

Column I

- 2 Παπάις Παπάιτος : The same name appears in P.Lond. II 192.34 (p. 223), dated to the
 early first century A.D.
 6 Ἀσπλωι : Confusion of rho and lambda is also apparent in εὐθαιλετας (line 8); cf.
 Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri*, § 37. The Roman *tria nomina* transliterated were
 probably Publius Arrius Asper.

6-8 1. Τιβέριον Καῖσαρα Σεβαστόν Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν : The one other instance
 of this titlature (P.Mich. 233.13 = SB 7174) listed in P.Bureth, *Les titulatures*
impériales, p. 28, has νέος before Αὐτοκράτωρ.

9-10 Κερβασήτι : A topos at Soknopaiu Nesos, see P.Tebt. II, App. II § 5.

10-11 Σαταβοῦτος Παπάι(τ)ος : The name appears in P.Lond. II 192.55,66 (p. 224).

11 λομας : unknown.

Translation (column I 1-13): "Papais, son of Papais and grandson of -on, of
 those from Soknopaiu Nesos of the division of Heraklides, to the employees of
 Publius Arrius Asper. I swear by Tiberius Caesar Augustus Emperor, son of
 Divus Augustus, that I will freely and willingly farm in Kerbaseis six and one-
 half . . . aruras, total 6½ aruras, (in) two parcels, formerly belonging to Satabus,
 son of Papais, . . ."

Nr. 2246 Declaration on Oath

P. 21542

21.5 × 6.6 cm

Fayum

98-117 A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 5.7 cm. The light brown, fine-textured papyrus has
 lost the beginnings of all its lines (about eleven letters in l. 1-11 and three
 letters in l. 12-24) and probably a few introductory lines with the horizontal
 fibers which are missing at the top. Apart from these losses, the papyrus is well
 preserved, with only a few interruptions of text due to holes or flaking.

The text is easily identified as a declaration on oath, but precisely and com-
 pletely what the declaration entailed is uncertain. At least eight different per-
 sons, it seems, joined in making the four-part declaration. The understanding
 of the first three parts is hindered by the loss of the exact form of the in-
 finitives in l. 13 and 14 and by the loss of a noun at the beginning of l. 15.
 The fourth part of the declaration is their assurance that they will be present
 at the *conventus* of the prefect.

The references to expenses and income (?) (l. 13, 15) suggest the interpretation
 that the declarants bound themselves to present to the prefect an account of
 financial affairs in which they were involved and which had some bearing on
 the finances of the nome or province. Possibly their specific function or title
 was included in a part of the introduction now missing.

This text has been published and discussed by C. A. Nelson in *Chron. d'Ég.* 48
 (1973) 114-120. For further treatment see his introduction and commentary.

- (m. 1) [Στοτοῦτις (?) ὥς] (ἐτῶν) γη οὐλῇ πῆχ(ει) δεξ(ιῶ)
 [± 12] νεώ(τερος) ὥς (ἐτῶν) ξθ <οὐλῇ> ὀφρ(ύει) ἀριστ(ερῶ)
 [± 10] πετερς (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλῇ ἀντικ(νημίω) δεξ(ιῶ)
 [± 12] (ἐτῶν) λβ οὐλῇ μετώ(πω) μέ(σω)
 5 [± 10] πρεσβ(ύτερος) (ἐτῶν) μζ <οὐλῇ> πῆχ(ει) ἀριστ(ερῶ)

- [± 10] γεώ(τερος) ὥς (ἐτῶν) ξη <οὐλή> δακτύ(λω) χειρὸς ἀρ[ιστ(ε-
ρᾶς)]
- [± 10] γεώ(τερος) ὥς (ἐτῶν) μς <οὐλή> γόνατ(ι) δεξ[ι(ῶ)]
- [± 10] ἄλλος ὥς (ἐτῶν) μ ἄσημο(ς)
- [προσφωνοῦμε]ν καὶ ὁμνύομεν τήν
- 10 [Ἀδοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Νέρονα Τραιαροῦ
[Γερμανικοῦ] Δακικοῦ τύχην ἐξ ἀρ-
[χαί]ων χρόνων ταῦτα ἢ[μ]εῖν
[χο]ρηγεῖσθαι (?) καὶ τὰς δαπάνας
[ἐκθ]εῖναι (?) καὶ μηδὲν πλεον μῆτε
- 15 [λήμμα] γείνεσθαι ἡμεῖν μῆτε δαπά-
[νη]ν καὶ παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τ[όν] τοῦ
[κνρ]ίου διαλογισμὸν ἢ ἔρ[ο]χοι εἴη-
[με]ν τῷ ὄρκῳ· ἔγραψεν ὁ[π]τέρ[ο] αὐτῶν
[φαμέ]ν(ων) μὴ εἰδ(έναι) γράμματα Ἀμμή[ς] (?) νομογ(ράφος).
20 [(ἔτονς) . . . Ἀδοκράτ[ορος] Καίσαρος Νέρονα
[Τρα]ϊανοῦ Σε[β(αστοῦ)] Γ[ερ]μ[ανικοῦ] Δακ(ικοῦ) Θ[ώθ]
- (m. 2) [. . .] Στοτοῦτ[ι]ς ὁ προγεγραμμένος συν (?) -]
[επι]δέδωκα καὶ[αί] συνομώμο[κα]
[ώ]ς πρόκειται.

6 1. χειρὸς.

- 1 [Στοτοῦτ[ι]ς ?]: His name is restored from l. 22, but his position in the list is, of course, impossible to determine. Some horizontal strips of papyrus have been lost above l. 1, perhaps depriving the text of more declarants or the addressee.
- 11-13 ἐξ ἀρ[χαί]ων χρόνων . . . [χο]ρηγεῖσθαι: The restoration seems certain, but the meaning, dependent upon the imprecise ταῦτα (l. 12), is not entirely clear. Perhaps ταῦτα refers to a word or phrase now lost from the beginning of the text. "These things from former times" could be either tangible substances or intangible matters over which the declarants had charge or with which they were involved.
- 12 ἢ[μ]εῖν: or ὁ[μ]εῖν. The first is preferable, because of the first person plurals in l. 9, 15, and because the declaration was probably directed to one individual, the strategos.
- 15 [λήμμα]: or [τιμῶν]. If the declarants were financial officials they might assert that their accounts of incomes and expenses were accurate and complete. If they were providing something, they might have stated that in whatever they were involved, they were paying no more than the costs and expenses which they had incurred.
- 19 νομογ(ράφος): This official appears frequently in declarations on oath: SB 7463; P. Fay. 24; BGU 2085; Mitteis, *Grundz.*, pp. 56-57, p. 56 n. 7.
- 20 A date is usually given at this point in the declarations just before the imperial name. Although space is very limited at the beginning of l. 20, that date may have extended into the left margin.

Translation: "We, (Stotoetis ?, about) 58 years old, having a scar on the right forearm, N.N., the younger, about 69 years old, having a scar on the left eye-brow, N.N. about 50 years old, having a scar on the right shin, N.N., about

32 years old, having a scar in the middle of his forehead, N.N., the elder, about 47 years old, having a scar on the left forearm, N.N., the younger, about 46 years old, having a scar on his right knee, and the other N.N., about 40 years old, having no distinguishing mark, (declare) and swear by the fortune of (Emperor) Caesar Nerva Trajanus (Germanicus) Dacicus, that these things from earlier times are being (supplied ?) by us, that we have (specified ?) expenses, that we have no more (income ?) or expense, and that we will be present at the *conventus* of the prefect or may we be liable to this oath. Ammes the nomographos has written for them since they (say) that they are illiterate. (Year . . .) of Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Thoth . . . (Hd. 2) I, the aforementioned Stotoetis, have joined in submitting this and in taking the oath as stated above."

Nr. 2247 Deed of Surety

P. 21497
18 × 7.5 cm

Diopolite nome
175/176 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.9 cm, lower 3.7 cm. The light brown papyrus is missing for over half its length from the right and left more than half its width, so that there remains only a slender strip about ten letters wide. The hand is a skilled sloping cursive.

Several men agree to vouch for several other men who are going to be tax-farmers in the Diopolite nome. Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, several items point to the preference of regarding the latter group as tax-farmers and not as tax-collectors. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka* I, pp. 572ff. and Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 286ff., note that whereas all the direct taxes were collected by governmental officials, indirect taxes (*e.g.* tolls, sales- and inheritance-taxes) were collected by tax farmers. In line eight of this document I read and restore τήν ὑπόσ[χεσιν] τέλο(ς) δεκάτη[ς] μόσχων (?)—a ten-percent sales-tax, therefore indirect and collected by tax-farmers. In line ten furthermore are symbols which I read as the sum of money which the tax-farmers and their vouchers guarantee they will levy within the coming year. However, I know of no parallel to substantiate these postulates.

On tax-farming in general, see Walther Lotz, "Studien über Steuerverpachtung", *Sitzungsb. d. Bayerisch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Abt.* 4 (1935).

ις

[Ἀγα]θῶ Δαίμονι στρατηγῶι Διοπολ(ίτου)[]
[± 6] μηθης μη(τρός) Τεφροῦτος καὶ Σαιρ[± 13]
[] .σ() καὶ Πιτῆρις Ἐπωνόχων .[± 13]
5 [ὁμολογο]ῦμεν ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀ[θ]θαιρέτως ἐγ-]
[γνώσθ]αι Νεχούθην Φαφενσούτι[ς καὶ]

- [± 6] Παννφιοῦτος καὶ Πετομτοῦν [± 13]
 [... τὴν ὑπόσ]χεσιν τέλος δεκάτη[ς ± 13]
 [± 6] .ου ἰσόντος ις, (ἔτους) [Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καί-]
 10 [σαρος τ]οῦ κυρίου .χ.[καὶ παραστήσομεν τοὺς]
 [± 6] τας καθ' ἃ ν[± 10 εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς αὐ-]
 [τοὶ ὅ]πεύθυνοι ἐσόμεθα κτλ.]
 [...].οισμένα []
 [(ἔτους) ις Ἀδτ]οκράτορος Κα[σαρος Μάρκον Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντω-]
 15 [νίνου Ἀ]ρμενιακοῦ Μ[ηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σαρ-]
 [ματικοῦ] ὅ μεγίστου []
 [...μηθῆ]ς υἱ(τρὸς) Τεφ[οῦτος]
 [± 6] .ης συνο[Πιτῆ-]
 [νις Ἐπω]νύχου συνο[]
 20 [± 6] . . . ιος ἔγρ(αφα) ὑπ[έρ αὐτῶν κτλ.]
 (m. 2) [... ὑπηρ]έτης ἐπη(κολούθηκα) []

2 [Ἀγα]θῶ Δαίμονι στρατηγῶι Διοπολ(ίτου): new. It is impossible to determine whether this Diopolite nome is the Lower Diopolite in the Delta or the Lesser Diopolite in the Thebaid. On the problems of terminology, see J. D. Thomas, "The Theban Administrative District" *JEA* 50 (1964) 139-143; "A New List of Nomes from Oxyrhynchus", *Akten d. XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, p. 399.

3]μηθῆς: 1. μηθιος?

Τεφροῦτος(?): addendum onomasticis. or Ταροῦτος(?). Cf. SPP XX 136.

8: Ταρντος, 1. Ταρντός(?).

Σαιν[: or Σαιπ[

6 Φαφενσοῦτιος: addendum onomasticis.

7 Παννφιοῦτος: addendum onomasticis.

Πετομτοῦν: Cf. P. Ryl. 82.4, 5: Πατομτοῦτος.

8 1. τέλους: The last two letters have been rewritten, but it is difficult to say what has been corrected.

δεκάτη[ς: Perhaps the τέλος δεκάτης μόσχων is intended, attested in Roman times only in P. Tebt. 307, 572, 605-7 (the last three published by J. Shelton in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 89-91) and discussed by Grenfell and Hunt in P. Tebt. 307 introd.; P. J. Sijpesteijn, in *OMRO* 45 (1964) 62; and S. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 247-8.

10 .χ.[: Preceding chi is a curved stroke opening to the left; succeeding it what might be the left half of an omega. I am inclined to read (ῥαχμαί) χ ὦν(?) .

11]τας καθ' ἃ ὅ[πεσόμεθα κτλ. ? : In the lacuna at the beginning of the line I expect stood a participle.

12 ὅπεύθυνοι κτλ.: On the interpretation of this phrase see La Rosa, "L'EITYHTHΣ della ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ", *JJP* 13 (1961) 67-74.

12-13 H. Maehler suggests restoring [ὑποστῆναι πάντα τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς] ὥρισμένα.

18 συνο[: Only the faintest flecks of ink remain.

19 συνο[μολογῶ ?

Translation: "16. To Agathos Daimon, strategos of the Diopolite nome. We, N.N., son of -methis and Tephus, and Sain- (son of N.N., and N.N. son of N.N.), and Pitenis, son of Eponychos . . ., agree willingly and (voluntarily

to vouch for) Nechuthes, son of Phaphensutis (and N.N., son of N.N., and N.N.), son of Panyphius, and Petomtus, (son of N.N., for the) farming of the ten-percent tax (on . . . for) the coming 17th year (of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar) the lord, 600 drachmas (?) . . . (and we shall produce them) . . . as (we have promised (?). If not, we ourselves) shall be responsible (for assuming their entire) appointed sum. (Year 16) Emperor Caesar (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) Armeniacus (Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Sarmaticus) Maximus (date). I, N.N., son of -methis and Tephus, . . . (I, Pitenis), son of Eponychos, . . . I, N.N., have written in behalf (of them . . .). (Hd. 2) (I, N.N.) the attendant, supervised it . . ."

Nr. 2248 Oath of Surety (Pl. VI)

P. 25127

ca. 196 A.D.

28.5 × 12.5 cm

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1.8 cm, lower 13 cm. Between lines two and three is a space of 1 cm, between lines eleven and twelve a space of 3 cm. The papyrus is light brown and in a poor state of preservation, being mutilated throughout by abrasions and worm holes. The hand is a scrawling, yet skilled, vertical cursive.

A certain Pas-, son of Sarapion, perhaps from Karanis, swears that he will vouch for the two liturgists, Sokrates, son of Ptol-, and another whose name is lost, both of them ex-gymnasiarchs. The liturgy to which these men have been nominated remains undeciphered (see l. 7 note).

Τ[έ]ρα[κι τῶ καὶ] Νεμ[ε]σίωνι[ω] στρ(ατηγῶ)

[Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρ]ακλ(είδου) μερίδ(ος)

παρ[ὰ] Πασ[.] Σαραπίωνος [. .] [ἀ]πό κώ[(μης) . .]ρ()

ὁμνῶ τὴν Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου

5 Σεονήρου Περτίνακος Σεβα[στο]ῦ τύχη(ν) ἐκ(ο)νσίως

καὶ ἀνθερέτως <ἐγγυᾶσθαι> Σωκρ(άτην) Πτολ() γε(γυμνασιαρχηκότα) καὶ

[.] γε(γυμνασιαρχηκότα)

[τ]οὺς δύο α[.]ος πρ(ακ(τορ--)) στ. α[. . .]κος

[τ]ῆς πρ(οκ(ειμένης) κ)ώ(μης) οὗς καὶ παραστήσω ὁπότα[ν]

ἐπι[ζητ(ῶνται)]· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραστή[σω ἐγὼ ὁ αὐτός] . . ο

10 [. .] ἀδ[ι]τοὺς ἐ[πι]ζητοῦν[ται ?]

[. .] μ[. .] . θ() καὶ ὡς χρ(ηματίζει)]

[. .] Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σε-

ονή[ρο]ν [Εὐσεβο]ῦς Περ[τίνακος]

Σεβασ[το]ῦ Ἀρα[βικοῦ] Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ]

15 [. .] α[. .] . . μμω[. .] ὦθα

[. .] Πτολ()

- 1 [Ἐ]ρα[κι τῷ καὶ] Νεμ[ε]σίωνι : Attested from 195-7 A.D. (Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 46).
 3 [Κα]ρ(ανίδος) ?
 6 l. ἀθαιρέτως
 Σωκρ(άτην) Πτολ() γε(γυμν.): He does not appear in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*.
 7 α[, λ[-] . . . γος ,] . . . πος are possible readings.
 στ . α . [: The second letter might be pi, the fifth nu or pi. Definitely not σιτικῶν, but not so readily στεφανικῶν either—the only two attested *praktoriae* beginning with s (N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. *πρακτορία*).
 10 ἐ[πι]ζητοῦν[ται] ? : The formula calls for ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκβιάσω τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιζητούμενα ἢ ἐνοχος εἶην τῷ δοκῶ. However, the last letter on the papyrus resembles more nu than mu.

Translation (lines 1-9): "To Hierax (alias) Nemesianos, strategos (of the Arsinoite nome), the division of Heraklides. From Pas-, son of Sarapion . . ., from the village of . . . I swear by the fortune of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus, that I will voluntarily and willingly (vouch for) Sokrates, son of Ptol-, ex-gymnasiarch, and . . . ex-gymnasiarch, the two . . . praktores (stephanikon ?) . . . from the (aforementioned village) whom I shall produce whenever they are required. (If I should) not produce them, (I myself shall . . .)"

Nr. 2249 Oath of Surety

P. 21460 recto
15.3 × 6.6 cm

Karanis
ca. 205 A.D.

Upper margin 1.3 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and coarse textured. It was folded three times vertically and has lost the leftmost fold; what remains is marred by occasional abrasions and breaks—but none extensive enough to destroy the sense. The hand is an irregular cursive—now vertical, now slanted. On the verso is the sitologos receipt 2302.

Two fellow citizens of Karanis, whose names are only partially preserved, swear that they will vouch for the liturgist Sempronius Clemens, who has been selected to serve as money tax collector. The text may be compared with a number of parallels, listed in Seidl, *Der Eid*, I, pp. 79-80. For further discussion see Schwartz, "Un formulaire de nomographe", *JJP* 4 (1950) 209-214; La Rosa, "L' EPTYHTHΣ della ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ", *JJP* 13 (1961) 67-74; Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Milan, 1973, pp. 192-3.

[Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τῷ κ(αὶ) Σαρα]πίωνι στρατ(ηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου)
 [μερίδ]ος
 [-μίωνος] ἀπὸ κόμης Καρανίδος
 [καὶ ± 9]ώνιος Κέλερ ὀμνόμεν

- 5 [τὴν τῶν Αὐτο]κρατόρων Καισάρων
 [Λουκίου Σεπτιμ]ίον Σεουήρον Εὐσεβοῦς
 [Περτίνακος καὶ] Μάρκον Αἰρηλίον Ἀντωνεῖνον
 [Σεβαστῶν τύχη]ν ἐκονσίως καὶ ἀνθερέ-
 [τως ἐγγυᾶσθαι] Σεμπρώνιον Κλή-
 10 [μεντα εἰσοδο(έντα) ἀ]παιτητὴν πρακτο-
 [ρίας ἀργυρικῶ]ν δημοσίων τῆς αὐ-
 [τῆς κόμης Καραν]ίδος, ὃν καὶ παραστήσο-
 [μεν ὁπότε ἐὰν ἐ]πιζητῇται· ἐὰν δὲ
 [μὴ παραστήσο]μεν, ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐκβι-
 15 [βάσομεν τὰ] πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιζητού-
 [μενα ἢ ἐνοχοι] εἴημ[εν τῷ] δοκῶ·
 [ἐγράφῃ ἐπακολο]υθ(οῦντος) Παπειριαγοῦ ὑπηρέτ(ου)
 []μίωνος ἐγγεγρόημαι
 [Σεμπρώ]νιον Κλήμεντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)
 20 []ώνιος Κ[ε]λερ ἐγγεγνή-
 [μαι Σεμ]πρώνιον [Κλή]μεντα

- 1 [Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τῷ κ(αὶ) Σαρα]πίωνι : Appears in SPP XXII 6 and 103; P. Ross.-Georg. V 13. His attested dates lie in the years 204-5 A.D. Sixteen letters in the lacuna is unusually long. Either his name was still more abbreviated, or it protruded into the left margin.
 4 In the lacuna stood a praenomen and perhaps Σεμπρ[ώνιος].
 8 l. ἀθαιρέτως.
 9-10 Σεμπρώνιον Κλή[μεντα] : Since the name is common in second century Karanis (P. Mich. 486.1 note), I hesitate identifying him with anyone. In the lacunae in lines 19 and 21 probably stood his praenomen.
 17 ὑπηρέτ(ου) : On the hyperetes in general see H. Kupiszewski-J. Modrzejewski, "ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙ", *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 141-166; his role in these documents is analyzed pp. 164-5.
 18 l. ἐγγεγνήμαι

Translation: "(To Alkibiades, alias) Sarapion, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the division of Heraklides. We, N.N., son of -mion, from the village of Karanis, (and) -onius Celer, swear (by the fortune) of the Emperors Caesari (Lucius Septimius) Severus Pius (Pertinax and) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Augusti) that we shall voluntarily and willingly (vouch for) Sempronius Clemens (nominated) for tax collector for the public (silver taxes) for the same (village of Karanis), whom we shall produce (whenever) he should be required. If we do not (produce him), we ourselves shall guarantee (the) things required of him (or else) may we be (liable to the penalty) of the oath. (It was written under the supervision of) Papirianus, the attendant. I, N.N., son of -mion, vouch for . . . (Sempronius) Clemens as aforementioned. I, -onius Celer, vouch for . . . Sempronius Clemens."

List of liturgic oaths since Seidl, *Der Eid*, I pp. 79–80, II pp. 68, 72, 83.

By the liturgists:

reference	date	liturgy	recipient
P. Mich. 233	25 A. D.	aphesophylakes	katasporeus
P. Leit. 12	210/11	provision of transport animals and wagons	-----
P. Oslo 93	212	nyktophylax	strategos
P. Oxy. 3091	216/17?	conveyance of grain	strategos
PSI 1229	217	demosioi onelatai	-----
P. Oxy. 2876	early 3rd	paraphylaxia	strategos
P. Oxy. 3097	224/5	praktor sitikon	strategos
P. Oxy. 3098	232/3	praktor sitikon	strategos
P. Oxy. 3132	237	praktor argyrikon	strategos
P. Oxy. 3109	253–6	provision of plowing oxen	strategos (?)
P. Oxy. 2764	277	strategia (see n. 11)	strategos
P. Oxy. 2765	304	strategia	-----

By their vouchers:

P. Princeton 121	140?	sitologos	-----
SB 9550	175	-mophylax	strategos
BGU 2248	ca. 196	praktores ---	strategos
BGU 2249	ca. 205	apaetetes praktorias argyrikon	strategos
P. Mil. Vogl. 236	209–11	pediophylakes	-----
PSI 1358	212	guards?	-----
P. Oslo 93	212	nyktophylax	strategos
PSI 1248	235	unnamed	strategos
P. Oxy. 2763	253/4	phylarch	strategos
P. Lugd.-Bat. XI 3	325	unnamed	gymnasiarch, bouleu- tes, strategos (1 pers.)
„	4 340	komarch	praepositus pagi
„	5 340	prophylakes	praepositus pagi
P. Hermop. 21	346	komarch, apaetetes annonae	praepositus pagi
P. Fouad 20	4th c.	-----	-----

Nr. 2250 List of Substitute Farmers

P. 25109
23 × 9 cm

Lagis
161/162 or 163/164 A.D.

Left margin 2.5–3.5 cm, upper 1 cm, lower 2 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and lacks about two-thirds of its width from the right side. What remains is marred by a few and unimportant breaks. Two hands wrote this text. The first begins in large, thick, grand strokes in l. 1–3, and in a smaller version continues to write the body of the document. The second is drawn in much finer, wispy lines and evidently filled in entries left blank by the first writer. On the verso, parallel to the fibers, is one line of barely visible traces.

In either 161/2 or 163/4 (see l. 1 note), Isidoros, village scribe of Lagis and Trikomia, submitted to the strategos, Harpokration, this list of farmers who were assuming the burden of cultivating the lands of those who either had fled and abandoned them, or were still carrying on but unable to bear the full load.

This list is a direct parallel to P. Berl. Leihg. 7, which dates to the year 162/3 and preserves many of the names recorded here. For a fuller discussion of the meaning of these lists, see the introduction and notes to that papyrus, as well as N. Lewis, “*ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ*”, *JEA* 23 (1937) 63–75; G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, pp. 69ff.; A. Swiderek, “*ΟΙ ΤΩΙ ΟΝΤΙ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΕΣ*”, *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, pp. 425ff.

Ἀρποκρατ[ίωνι στρατηγῷ] Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμιστόν]	
καὶ Πολέμ[ωνος μερίδων]	
παρὰ [Τ]σι[δῶρον κωμογραμματέως]	
Λαγείδος [καὶ Τρικωμίας· κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα)]	
5	ὑπὸ σου [ἐπιδίδωμι κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης Λα[γείδος γεωργούν(των) ἀντὶ ἀνακε-] χωρηκότῳ[ν καὶ ἐξησθενήκόν(ων) κατασπ(ορᾶς) τῆς] τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος] . (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου καὶ Οὔρηρου] τῶν κυρίων Σ[εβαστῶν· ἔστι δέ·]
10	ἀντὶ Πρωτείω[ρος Ἀμμωνίου] δίδωμι Ἀφρο[δ() Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἀφροδ()] καὶ ἀντὶ Παποντῶ[τος Ἀκείων] Πισᾶν Κολλ[ούθου] (m. 2) Τιθοῆς Πονγ. . () Ἀφροδ()] 15 (m. 1) καὶ ἀντὶ Λιδᾶ Σ[ώτου] Πασίον[α Χάρμον τοῦ Ἀρείου] ἀντὶ Πρωτίω[ρος Λογγείνου] Ἀρποκρατ[ῶν] [Βάσσου] Πε. [[.]] [Χαιρή[(μῶν)] Ὀννώφ(ρεως)]

- 20 ἀντὶ Ἡρώνο(ς) Διοδ[ώρου]]
 (m.2) διδομ(ι) Πῶλις Θε(ο)μνᾶ (ἄρουραι)]]
 (m.1) ἀντὶ Ἡρώνο(ς) Ἡρακλ[είδου]]
 Ἀπίφρα Πτολε() Ὁρσεύς
 (m.2) διδομ(ι) [[εκ...]] Ἀβασκάν[του]]
 (m.1) καὶ ἀντὶ Ἀμα. Πετοσ[]]
 25 Φασεῖς Πακύσεως []
 Πετεεῦς Πετεσοῦ[χου]]
 καὶ ἀντὶ Διδύμου Ἡρακλ[είδου]]
 Ἀνουβᾶς Ὁρσεύς []
 ἀντὶ Ἡρώνο(ς) Σαβεῖν[ου]]
 30 Πτολ () Πτολεμαῖος []
 (Ἰσχυρᾶς Ἰσχυρᾶ[τος]]
 ἀντὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρ[ωνος]]
 Πετερμουθίς ἀπά[τωρ]]

1 Ἀρποκρα[ίων]: Kalén, P.Berl.Leihg., p. 89, has reckoned his three-year term to be Mesore (or Payni) 161 through summer 163, perhaps longer. Because P.Berl.Leihg. 7 preserves the account for the year 162/3, this list, also addressed to Harpokration, would derive from either the preceding or succeeding year.

4-6 The restorations are given *exempli gratia*.

7-9 The restorations are derived from P.Berl.Leihg. 7.5-8.

10-14 The same people appear in P.Berl.Leihg. 7.9-12,14.

11 Ἀφροδ() Σαραπίωνος: He also appears in P.Berl.Leihg. 29 II 15. This text (for a description of which see Ljungvik, P. Berl. Leihg. 7, introd. p. 125) will eventually be published by A. Tomsin. Dr. G. Poethke very kindly allowed me to see the original in E. Berlin.

14 Πονγ... (): In P.Berl.Leihg. 7.14 Ljungvik reads Πόν[το]ν. Something else is written here.

15-18 = P.Berl.Leihg. 7.20-23.

16 Πασίον[α Χάρμων]: He also appears in P.Berl.Leihg. 29 II 19.

19 = P.Berl.Leihg. 7.15

20 = *ibid.* 7.25

21 = *ibid.* 7.26

22 = *ibid.* 7.31

26 = *ibid.* 7.24

27 = *ibid.* 7.41

29 = *ibid.* 7.33. The sigma of Sabeinos has been corrected from omicron.

30-32 = *ibid.* 7.34-36.

Translation: "To Harpokration (strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the divisions of Themistes) and Polemon, from Isidoros, (village secretary) of Lagis (and Trikomia. According to) your (orders, I submit a man-by-man list of the farmers from the) village of Lagis (in place of the) fugitives (and impoverished for the sowing of) the present -th (year of Antoninus and Verus) the lords (Augusti. They are: Instead of Protion, (son of Ammonios) ... I propose Aphrod(), (son of Sarapion, grandson of Aphrod() ...)", etc.

Nr. 2251 Nominations to Liturgies

P. 21739 recto

28.8 × 15.9 cm

Fayum

2nd c. A.D.

Upper margin 2.5 cm, lower 2.8 cm, left 2.5 cm. A disconnected fragment (1 × 1 cm) contains the letters iota and omega. The dark brown papyrus is damaged by large breaks in its lower half. From the right are missing in places small pieces, the loss of which rarely disturbs interpretation. On the bases of the clumsy, cursive script and a few questionable identifications (lines 14, 15, 21) a tentative date of mid-second century A.D. may be assigned to the text.

An exact parallel for the document on the recto of this papyrus is difficult to find. Apparently once belonging to a lengthy list of proposed liturgists for the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, it shares features in common with BGU 91; 425; 1046; P. Fay. 23; P. Petaus 60-65. The officials who are due to be replaced are the ἐπιτηρηταὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφίας and the πράκτορες σιτικῶν of nine other towns. All personal names are checked by a heavy slanting stroke, and town names, sporadically checked, protrude slightly into the left margin. Lines one through four are distinguished by a bracketing parenthesis to their left (see l. 4 note).

On the verso are two columns of writing, the left one broken into five sections, the right one solid. So cursive is the script, so faded the ink, that all attempts at ascertaining the nature of the entries, let alone decipherment, have been so far without success. The head of the verso document lies at what on the corresponding recto side is the foot.

The box from which this papyrus was taken contains the findings from F. Zucker's excavations in Dime on December 24, 1909. A check of that day's report in his journal, published in part in *Archiv* 21 (1971) 27, turns up the following probable description of this papyrus: "(Freitag, 24. Dezember 09) ... mehrere größere Bruchstücke einer großen Steuerliste—2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.—die sich auf einen größeren Bezirk zu erstrecken scheint, da die Metropolis und andere Dörfer darin vorkommen; Verso in etwas späterer und kursiverer Schrift beschrieben".

| καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς Ἀπιάδος | Δεῖος νεώ(τερος) Ἰσίωνος ... ἀπὸ μητρο(πόλεως)[
 ἐξετάγ(η) ἐν Ἀπιάδι

| εἰς ἐπιτ(ήρησιν) δρυμῶν Θεαδελφίας)

| Ἄβους Ἰσίωνος μη(τρὸς) Ταφύτιος ἀπὸ μητρο(πόλ.) γεονχ(ῶν) ἐν Εἰδημ[ερεία

5 Παχῶν· εἰς κληρὸν πρακ(τορίας) σιτικῶν Πτολ(εμαίδος) Μελισσουργῶν

| Θῶνις Θῶνεως μη(τρ.) Θανοῦτος ἐπικαλ(ούμενος) Λαβε. ας ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) κόμ(ης)

| Ὁρσεύς Ὁρσεύς τοῦ Ἡρώνο(ς) μη(τρ.) Ἡραίδος

| Τεβέτν | Θιαμᾶτις Βελωβοῦστος τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀπὸ μητρο(πόλ.) γε[ονχ(ῶν)

| Ἀνουβᾶς Ποσιδωνίου Ἰσχυρίωνος ὁμοίως

10 | Ἰβιδῶνος (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) | Ἐλεήμενος Σωτηρίχου τοῦ Σωτηρίχου

γεονχ(ῶν) περ[ὶ τὴν κόμην]

- | Διονύσιος δ καὶ Πόννις Μάρωνος τοῦ Μάρωνος ὁμοίως
 Μούχεως | Σαραπίων Μέλανος μη(τρ.) [α. .] Ἀμμωνούτος ἐ(πικ.) Σέλενος
 | Ὀφέλις Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Μέλανος μη(τρ.) Θεανῶτος
 | Χρυσᾶς Ἡρᾶ τοῦ Κοττάρον μη(τρ.) Θεγεσσόχρεως ἐ(πικ.) Πτκ
 15 | Ὀρσενούφις Παχνούβεως τοῦ .[. . . (μητρ.)] Ταπιτόνεως
 Βουκόλ(ων) τοῦ καὶ [Τρι]στό(μον)
 | Δίδν[μος] Ἀπολλωνίου Διδ[ύμον] ἐπικαλ(σύμ.) ὁ τῆς Ἀχιλλίδο[ς]
 | Κάστωρ Εὐρήμωνος τοῦ [Εὐρή]μωνος ὁμοίως
 Β[ο]υσί(ρεως) | Ἡρακλείδης Δω[]
 20 | Δ. .ος Θεογίτανος [] ἀπὸ μητρο(πόλ.) γεουχ(ῶν) περὶ τ(ήν) κ[ώμην]
 | Κινῶν πόλ(εως) | Νεφερώς Α[] ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) κώμ(ης)
 | Κλήμης Λογγεῖνος ἀπὸ μητρο(πόλ.) γεουχ(ῶν) περὶ τ(ήν) κώμην
 | Ἰβιδῶνος Ἀργαίου | Πετερμ[ούθις] τοῦ Παποντῶτος ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) κ[ώμης]
 | Σαραπίων Σύρον τοῦ Η[]
 25 | Μαγδῶλ(α) | Ἡρῶν Ἡρώδου[] ἀπὸ μητρ[ο](πόλ.)
 [Σαρα]πίων Διον[υ]σί[ου]
 [] π. .[] .νος ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) κώμ[ης]
 [] σνεως Πιτόνεως μη(τρ.) Ἰσιδώρ[ας]
 []ωνε[] γεουχ(ῶν) περὶ τ(ήν) κώμην
 30 [] .πίωνος το[ύ] Λυκαρί[ωνος] μ[η]τρ(.) Διδύμης ἀπὸ []

1 The καὶ here presupposes a foregoing list of which the present column is a continuation.

ὁπὸ τοῦ scil. κομογραμματέως. Before the Severan reform of 202 A. D., komogrammateis proposed liturgists (BGU 91; 194; 235); after 202 it was a komarch (P. Lond. III 220, p. 114). In Oxyrhynchos papyri of the late third and early fourth centuries appear *systatai* as appointers.

Following Ἰσίωνος are the lower halves of three letters, the first of which could be pi or nu, the second beta or kappa.

2 ἐξετάγ(η) . . . εἰς: τάσσω ἐπί with genitive, dative or accusative was the classical expression used for appointing someone to a position (see LSJ s.v.). Here the compound must have the same function as ἀνα-, εἰσδίδωμι and προς-, εἰσαγγέλλειν employed by komarchs and komogrammateis in their announcements of proposed liturgists. As it otherwise appears in papyri it has nothing to do with nominations.

H. C. Youtie has suggested comparing the usage in this text with that of IV Kings 25.19: τὸν γραμματέα . . . τὸν ἐκτάσσοντα τὸν λαὸν τῆς γῆς, which is rendered by J.-F. Schleusner, *Thesaurus Veteris Testamenti*, Leipzig, 1820, as "scribam . . . scribentem populum terrae". Presumably on the basis of this passage, Hesychius gives χαράσσοντα, γράφοντα as a gloss on ἐκτάσσοντα. Now one adds to this the fact that certain nominations from the komogrammateus were always in a form designated γραφή δημοσίων, that is to say, they were submitted as a list (N. Lewis, "The γραφή δημοσίων of Roman Egypt", *Chron. d'Ég.* 45 (1970) 161–165). These considerations lend credence to the supposition that ἐξετάγ(η) in this text points to the inclusion of the metropolitane Deios in a *graphe* submitted by the komogrammateus of Apias: "he was listed at Apias, he was assigned to the liturgy in Apias". If this reasoning is valid, ἐκτάσσω is used in this text in a sense which does not differ markedly from the usual sense of ἐντάσσω.

3 εἰς ἐπιτ(ήρησιν) δρυμῶν: The marsh-land was inundated much of the year and was hence a source of revenue from the fishing-tax; at other seasons, it was less watery, and reeds abounded—also providing income for the state. Extensive explanations of this term are offered in the notes to P. Tebt. 308.4; P. Ryl. 98a.2; P. Oslo 89–91.

These particular ἐπιτηρηται δρυμῶν receive their full title in P. Oslo 91.27–32: ἐπιτηρηται νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφείας καὶ Πολυδευκείας καὶ ἱερατικῶν ὠνῶν ἐν οὐσιακοῖς μισθωταῖς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὕδατικῆς προσόδου, ἥ καὶ ὑποπίπτει, καὶ θήρας ἰχθύας, and number variously: eight and more in P. Oslo 89; ten in P. Ryl. 98a. For further discussion see Eitrem and Amundsen, P. Oslo 89–91 introd.; Lewis, P. Leit. 14 introd.; in general, Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 237ff.

4 γεουχ(ῶν) ἐν, γεουχ(ῶν) περὶ: cf. BGU 1046 *passim*.

The parenthesis separating lines one through four from the succeeding text probably indicates the last portion of the preceding list or an insertion thereafter, for which there was not enough space at the end of the last column. Otherwise it may be a cancellation; see P. Petaus 100 introd.

Apias, Theadelphia, and Euhemeria belong to the division of Themistes in the Arsinoite nome; the following towns all belong to the division of Polemon. There is no order, geographic or alphabetic, to their listing.

5 Παχῶν: Praktores were customarily appointed in Pachon or early Payni (N. Lewis, "The Structure of BGU IV 1046", *Chron. d'Ég.* 44 (1969) 122)—subject to sortition by the epistrategos (N. Lewis, "The Limited Role of the Epistrategos in Liturgic Appointments", *Chron. d'Ég.* 44 (1969) 343). The date on which *praktores sitikon* actually entered office is still an undecided issue. From the evidence of this text, one would assume it was in Thoth, when the *praktores argyrikon* took up their duties.

Striking is the inclusion of the month and the omission of any more explicit date. Whether or not there is a direct relationship between the new month and the new division, which here commences, it is impossible to say.

εἰς κλήρον πρακ(τορίας) σιτικῶν Πτολ(εμαῖδος): N. Lewis, "Leitourgia Studies", *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Papyrology*, Oslo, 1958, p. 234, produces evidence that "officials designated ἐν κλήρῳ were nominees to the office functioning *pro tempore* while awaiting the final selection that would appoint one or more of them and release the others".

6 Λαβε.ας: The questionable fifth letter does not much resemble tau, resulting in Labetas, a known name. It appears rather like a xi, but Labexas would be new.

Θῶνις: According to P. Ryl. 95.2 note, the name is uncommon outside Oxyrhynchos.

7 1. Ὀρσεύς Ὀρσεύς

8 Θιαμάτις, Βελοβονστος: *addenda onomasticis*. Despite the presence of a letter between the upsilon and tau of the latter, the most likely nominative and genitive forms are Βελοβοῦς, -βοῦτος

9 1. ὁμοίως: This reduplication of omega is characteristic throughout the list, both in this word and in proper names (l. 14, 15, 28)—but not in all instances where it would have been possible: Θώνεως (6), Ὀρσεύς (7), Μούχεως (12)—and is due to nothing more than the scribe's carelessness.

10 Ἰβιδῶνος (Εἰκοσιπενταούρων): This is the usual abbreviation for the village in the division of Polemon (see P. Mil. 98.6 and tav. X). For the name, see A. Calderini, "Ibion nei nomi di luogo", *MIFAO* 67 (1934) 345–355.

Ἐλεήμενος: Cf. P. Bour. 15.12: Ἐλεημένη.

12 After the abbreviation μῆ part of an alpha is visible, succeeded by a space of about two letters where an incorrect spelling was probably erased.

14 Χρυσᾶς Ἡρᾶ: A Chrysas, father of Heras, from Muchis (?), appears in P. Lond. 1179.26 (2nd century).

ε) must be an abbreviation for *ἐπικαλούμενος* (as in line 12 and P. Petaus 48, pl. XIV), and *Πτκ* must be the additional name. Neither Coptic nor Demotic nomenclature allow the cluster PTK, and a Greek would furthermore not write it that way if they did. Other possible readings are *Πτα*, *Πτω*.

15 *Ὁρσενούφης Παχνούβως*: Cf. BGU 6.26: *Ὁρσενούφης Παχνούβως τοῦ Ὁ. μὴ Σαμβούτος* (158/9 A.D., Muchis).

1. *Ταπιτύνως*: The name is attested three times in BGU 1891 (134 A.D., Theadelphia) and once in P. Mich. 252 = PSI 905.

17 *ὁ τῆς Ἀχιλλίδος*: Similar is P. Strasb. 537.9: *Παιεὺς Σάκεως ὁ τῆς Τσ* .[.

20 *Δ. .ος*: Possible restorations are *Δεῖος*, *Δῆμος*, *Δῶμος* or *Δῶρος*—but the lacuna is too large for *Δεῖος* and too small for *Δῶμος*; the second letter trace does not much resemble eta in *Δῆμος*, and the third letter trace is not that of a rho in *Δῶρος*.

21 *Νεφερώς*: The name occurs in P. Ryl. 90 (early 3rd century) in a list of proposed liturgists from Kynopolis. A man of this name is father of Aphrodas, about 45 years old (90.38) and Anubas, about 40 years old (90.42 = 90.7) about 35 years old. It is possible, as in the example of Chrysas and Heras (l. 14), that the papponymous tradition was followed, and these are two generations of the same family.

28 1. *Πιτύνως*: The name, if read correctly, is a new one and a variant upon the common *Πατῦν*: cf. SB 8807 *Πιτυ* and the feminine form in this text (l. 15).

Translation (l. 1-7): "And by the (village secretary) of Apias: Dios the Younger, son of Ision . . . from the metropolis. He was assigned in Apias.

For the superintending of the marshes in Theadelphia: Abus, son of Ision and Tapsois, from the metropolis, owning land in Euhemeria.

Pachon. For the drawing for grain-tax collector of Ptolemais Melissurgon (were proposed) Thonis, also called Labe.as, son of Thonis and Thanus, from the village; Orseus, son of Orseus and Herais, and grandson of Heron. From Tebetny, etc."

Nr. 2252 Nomination by Komarchs to a Liturgy

P. 21677

20 × 10.6 cm

Kynopolis

Feb. 16, 330 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm, left 1.5 cm, lower 5.8 cm. Except for a few minor breaks and a large area in the upper left corner which is darkly stained the light brown papyrus is in good condition. The body of the document is written in a large, clear hand, whereas the signature is traced in thick crude strokes.

Aurelios Ammonios and Aurelios Leontios, komarchs in Kynopolis, submit a nomination for a liturgical post to the praepositus Aurelios Ammonios. At the very place where formulaic expressions momentarily cease and the liturgic position up for replacement is named, the papyrus breaks, and the stain blots out any remaining letter traces until the formulae resume. This gap is all the

more disturbing, for although the post seems to be nothing more than that of an ordinary workman (*ἐργάτης*), the wording employed here does not conform to standard expression.

Parallel texts are listed by N. Lewis in P. Leit. 3 introd. and J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, p. 131 n. 5.

Ἀδρηλίω [Ἀ]μμωνίω πραιπ(οσίτω) ιβ' πάγ[ον]

παρὰ Ἀδρ[η]λίω Αμμωνίου Θιαρ-
κας καὶ Α[ε]φντίου Ἀπίωνος ἀμφοτέ-
ρον κομμά[ρχ]ων κόμης Κυνῶν πρό-

5 *λεως· διδ[ομε]ν καὶ προ(σ)αγγέλλομεν*
τῷ ἡδῖω ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ ἐργατωτ[. . ὅ-]
κ(τ)α[. .]η(σ)δίων πρὸς τὴν χρ(ε)ίαν
ἀμέμπ[τως] ὑπηρετούμενον
τῇ δημο[σίᾳ] χρεῖα· διευτύχει·

10 [*ἐστ*]ι δέ· *Λε-*
[*ἄτῃς* κόμης Κυνῶν·

ὑπατείας Φλαβίου Γαλλι(κ)ανοῦ
καὶ Οὔδαλερίου Τουλλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων

15 *Μεχέιρ κβ'*

(m. 2) *Ἀδρήλιοι Αμμώνιος καὶ Λεώντιος ἐπι-*
δεδώκαμεν· Ἀδρήλιος Πολύδωρος
ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν (ἀ)γγραμμάτων·

1 *Ἀδρηλίω* [Ἀ]μμωνίω πραιπ(οσίτω): He seems to be otherwise unknown.

2 *Θιαρκας*: *addendum onomasticis*.

3 *Α[ε]φντίου*: After the tau the scribe first mistakenly wrote omicron, then simply drew the iota through it.

4 1. *ἀμφοτέρων*.

6 1. *ιδίω*.

ἐργατωτ: *ἐργάτω* falsely written for *ἐργάτην*? Men were conscripted to work at various tasks (N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. *ἐργασία*); however, any indication as to what labor the proposed liturgist was obliged to perform is evidently omitted from this document. The lacuna could contain two or three letters at best.

7 The whole phrase *εὐπορον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον* is too large for the available space, and it is furthermore impossible to ascertain any satisfactory letter forms in the smeared and stained area.

9 *διευτύχει*: Farewell expressions seldom occur in nomination forms: P. Leit. 3.13; P. Flor. 2 *passim*.

13 Pap. *Φλαβίου*

16-18 This document is an *ἴσον*, an original. Were it only a copy, the subscription would have been in the same hand as the body (Boak and Youtie, P. Cair. Isid. 125.17-20 note).

17 ἐπιδεδώκαμεν: corrected from ἐπιτεδώκαμεν or vice versa.

Πολύδωρος: The pi is written above the line: all that is visible is a horizontal blot and—with good imagination—traces of a vertical.

18 <ἀ>γραμμάτων: Literacy was evidently not required of komarchs; cf. P.Oxy. 2232; J. Lallemant, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, p. 135 n. 2; P.Petaus 121.

Translation: "To Aurelios Ammonios, praepositus of the 12th pagus, from Aurelii Ammonios, son of Thiarkas, and Leontios, son of Apion, both komarchs of the village Kynopolis. We present and report, at our own risk, as workman, one who is . . . suitable (?) for this service—satisfactorily serving the public good. Farewell. He is Le- . . . from the same village of Kynopolis.

In the consulate of Flavius Gallicanus and Valerius Tullianus, the most illustrious ones, Mecheir 22.

Presented by us, Aurelios Ammonios and Aurelios Leontios. I, Aurelios Polydoros, wrote for them since they are illiterate."

Receipts for Aid in the Hunt

The following two documents are, as far as I can determine, unique among published papyri. They preserve in similar wording the receipts of public hunters to village elders at Soknopaiu Nesos stating that they have received from them in the form of workers—perhaps bush-beaters?—aid in the hunt of wild asses for a given year.

The pursuit of wild asses has until now never been mentioned in any papyri, Ptolemaic or Roman, and its appearance here evokes a number of questions: for what purpose were the beasts hunted in Roman times? For their meat, for breeding and domesticating? When was the hunt state organized? Did it take place annually, or was this a unique occurrence necessitated by some unusual exigency? Did the Ptolemies also sponsor and control donkey hunts?

Prehistoric rock drawings in the Wadi Abu Wasil in southeastern Upper Egypt show hunters stalking and trapping wild donkeys—apparently for their flesh, since the traps portrayed would have maimed the animal beyond the point of usefulness. However later drawings show the animal domesticated and presented as tribute or hauling small loads (Beni Hassan tomb). They are even represented drawing chariots in a Theban tomb painting in the British Museum. Other hunting scenes show Tutankhamon and Ramses III in pursuit of wild donkeys (C. F. Boettger, *Die Haustiere Afrikas*, Jena, 1958, p. 107), and a Roman mosaic in Bône, Algeria, depicts a Numidian on horseback about to capture his prey (Anthony Dent, *Donkey*, London, 1972, p. 21. I am indebted to this work for most of my information. See also F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands*, Leyden, 1960, p. 49).

On hunting in Egypt in general, see Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 335, 374, and Johnson *et. al.*, P. Ryl. 98a, introd.

Nr. 2253

P. 21448
14.8 × 15.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
192 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, right 2.5 cm, lower 3 cm. Folded five times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and marred by occasional breaks. The leftmost fold has broken off. Free-standing, large, well-formed letters characterize the script, both on this document and the following.

[]ς Διορ[ύσ]ιος δημόσιος κυνηγός
[διὰ] Λουκίου Άνουβίωνος καὶ Κασίου
[]ίδον βοηθῶν Σώτατι Τρύφωνος
[καὶ Σ]τοτοῆτις Άπώνχεως καὶ Διονυσίῳ
5 [Διο]νυσίου πρεσβυτέρους κώμης Σε-
[κνε]παίου Νήσου χαίρειν· ἔσχον παρ' ὁ-
[μῶν] τὴν ἐπιμερισ[θεῖ]σαν ὑμεῖν κατὰ
[συν]ήθειαν ἐργατίαν βοηθίαν εἰς θή-
[ραν] ὁ[ν]άγων ἔτους τριακοστοῦ καὶ
10 [πρώ]τον· (ἔτους) λα || Μάρκον Ἀδρηλίου
[Κομ]μόδον Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
[τοῦ] κυρίου Μεχ[ε]ρί[α]· α· Λούκιος Άνουβίων
[ἀπέχ]ει ὥς πρόκειται· || || || ||
[/] || || || ||

1 δημόσιος κυνηγός: Public hunters are also mentioned in P.Lond. II 459.2 (p. 163); 2254; P.Lugd.-Bat. III 4.3.

2 Λουκίου Άνουβίωνος: He is known from P.Lond. II 459.3 (p. 163), where he likewise acts as representative for state hunters.

Κασίου: Also in 2254.2.

3 Σώτατι Τρύφωνος: He appears in P.Lond. III 922b (p. xlv) as *praktor sitikon*.

4 Σ]τοτοῆτις Άπώνχεως: The same is presbyteros in P.Grenf. I 48.3 (191 A.D.).

4-5 Διονυσίῳ [Διο]νυσίου: This name along with that of Sotas, son of Tryphon (l. 3), appears in a list of camel owners (P.Lond. II 468, p. 82); identity is by no means certain.

5 πρεσβυτέρους: Just as village elders were obliged to furnish workers for field and canal work (A. Tomsin, *Étude sur les presbyteroi*, pp. 497-499), they are here required to secure helpers for the state hunters. This imposition was apparently not an unusual one. The presence of two such receipts—and the phrase ἐπιμερισθεῖσαν κατὰ συνήθειαν (l. 7-8)—are evidence that the hunt was not a one-time occurrence.

7-8 ἐπιμερισ[θεῖ]σαν κτλ.: The presbyteroi had orders to provide the hunters with aid. On the technical use of the verb, see G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, p. 19.

κατὰ [συν]ήθειαν: See H. D. Schmitz, *τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri*, diss. Köln, 1970, pp. 73ff.

8 ἐργατίαν: The Greek of lines 7-8 is peculiar. The verb object must be τὴν . . . ἐργατίαν with βοηθίαν in apposition. What then is the meaning of *ergatia*? It is obviously here not an abstraction, but something concrete, namely a group of workers, as in P. Fuad

Crawford 31 introd. and P.Oxy. 1450.6 (see also LSJ s.v.). I am grateful to Prof. Youtie for referring me to these notes and for discussing this document in a letter to me.
 8-9 $\theta\eta[\lambda\alpha\nu\delta]\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega\nu$: Restored from 2254.5.
 13 $[\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi]\epsilon\iota$: I find no ready parallel for this use of the third person, but the restoration I have given seems the only one possible.

Translation: “-s Dionysios, state hunter, (through) his helpers Lucius, son of Anubion, and Casius, son of -is, to Sotas, son of Tryphon, Stotoetis, son of Apynchis, and Dionysios, son of Dionysios, to the elders of the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, greetings. I have received from you assistance in the hunt of wild asses for the thirty-first year, the gang of workmen, delegated to you in the usual fashion. Year 31 of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar (the) lord. Mecheir . . . Lucius, son of Anubion (receives) it as is stated above.”

Nr. 2254

P. 21492
 13.5 × 7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
 193-198 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, lower 8.2 cm. The papyrus is light brown and fine-textured. It was folded three times vertically, and from the left has disappeared half the width. The hand is the same as that of the foregoing text.

[$\delta\eta\mu[\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma\kappa]\nu\eta[\eta]\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$
 [$].\omicron\upsilon\beta.[.]$ καὶ $\text{Κα}[\sigma]\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\pi\rho\epsilon-$
 $[\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu]\eta\varsigma\text{Σεκνεπαί}[\omicron]\nu\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$
 $[\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\pi\alpha\rho'\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omega}]\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\iota\delta[\omicron]\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\nu$
 5 [$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\theta] \eta\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$
 [$\Lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron]\nu\text{Σεπτιμίου Σε}(\omicron)\nu\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\nu$
 $[\text{Περτινάκος}] \text{Σεβαστοῦ Παχών ιβ}$
 [$]\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\cdot$ (m. 2) $\text{Σα}[\beta]\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\phi\alpha$
 $[\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon}\cdot$]

2 $].\omicron\upsilon\beta.[.]$: It is not possible to read here Anubion, as in 2253.2 and P.Lond. II 459.

$\text{Κα}[\sigma]\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$: Also appears as *boethos* in 2253.2.

5 $[\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\theta]\eta\gamma\alpha\nu$ or $[\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\theta]\eta\gamma\alpha\nu$, as in 2253.8, would supply the required number of letters and suit the sense.

Translation: “N.N., state hunter, through N.N. and Casius, to the elders of the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, greetings. (I have received from you) the aid given for the hunt of wild asses. Year . . . of (Lucius) Septimius Severus (Pertinax) Augustus, Pachon 12. I, NN., have received it. (Hd. 2) I, Sabinos, have written (for him).”

Nr. 2255 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21456
 8 × 10.2 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
 first c. A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.5 cm, lower 2.7 cm. The papyrus is dark brown and damaged throughout by worm holes. It was folded four times vertically.

$\acute{\epsilon}\tau[\omicron]\nu\varsigma\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau[\omicron\nu\text{Αὐτ}]\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron[\varsigma] \dots []\cdot\alpha\cdot[]\cdot\cdot$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\Delta\rho\nu\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}(\delta\iota)\delta\acute{\iota}\omega(\rho\nu\eta)\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\psi(\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho)$
 $\chi(\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu)\tau\omicron(\tilde{\nu})\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau(\tilde{\omicron})\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu(\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)\text{Σοκνο(παίου)}\text{Ν[ή]σου}$
 $\text{Τεσενούφης Ψεναμο(όνεως) το(ῶ) Ἀρπαγάθ(ου) (μητρὸς) Στοτοήτ(ιος)}$
 5 (m. 2) $\Delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$
 (m. 3) $\text{Πτολεμαῖος}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$
 (m. 4) $\text{Στράτος}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$

1 The last portion of the line is for the most part broken off, and the few remaining traces are ambiguous. On the bases of the script and the anomalous form of the certificate it may be assigned to the middle or late first century A.D.—after 54 A.D., since Nero is the first to use a titulature beginning with *Αὐτοκράτωρ*.

2 There is a large space between $\delta\acute{\iota}\omega(\rho\nu\eta)$ and what I have designated as the verb—a series of non-uniform loops.

4 $\Psi\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\omicron(\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma)\tau\omicron(\tilde{\nu})\text{Ἀρπαγάθ(ου)}$: A dike-worker of this name appears in a receipt from Soknopaiu Nesos (51/52 A.D.), published by N. Lewis, “First-Century Dike-Corvée Certificates”, *Chron. d'Ég.* 37 (1962) 154.

(μητρὸς): The symbol resembles the printed numeral seven.

Translation: “The first year of Emperor . . . Work done on the dikes in the Drymitis canal, for the same first year, on behalf of Soknopaiu Nesos, by Tesenuphis, son of Psenamunis and Stotoetis, and grandson of Harpagathes. (Hd. 2) Signed by me, Dios. (Hd. 3) Signed by me, Ptolemaios. (Hd. 4) Signed by me, Stratos.”

Nr. 2256 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 25104
 5.6 × 11.1 cm

Nilupolis
 Sept. 4-8, 114 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.4 cm, left 1 cm, right 1-2.5 cm. Folded four times vertically. The papyrus is light brown, fine-textured and lacks only the lower left and right corners.

Nilupolis appears here for the first time in a penthemeros-certificate. On these documents in general, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates* = P.Lugd.-Bat. XII; “Einige Papyri aus der Giessener Papyrussammlung”, *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 141-151.

ἔτους ιη- Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρωνα
 Τραιαν(οῦ) Σεβασ(τοῦ) Γερμανι(κοῦ) Δακι(κοῦ)· εἰργ(ασται) [ἐ]φ' ἡμ(έρας) ε
 ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν) ἔργω(ν) τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) (m.2) ἐν παρα.ε... ()
 διώ(ρνγι) Θωθ ζ- ια- Νείλου πόλ(εως)
 5 Θεογι() Σαταβ(οῦτος) τοῦ Σαταβ(οῦτος) μ(ητροῦς) Ηρακλ()
 [(m.3)] Νεμεσᾶς σεση(μείωμαι)[]

3 παρα.ε... () : No such water-way is listed in P.Lugd.-Bat. XII, pp. 90-91. The fifth letter might be kappa, beta, or mu. The last two squiggles are damaged. Above them is a symbol of abbreviation.

6 Νεμεσᾶς : Between nu and sigma a series of indistinguishable zig-zags. He does not appear in Sijpesteijn's lists.

Translation: "Year 18 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Work done for 5 days on the dike-works for the 17th year (Hd. 2) at the para... canal, Thoth 7-11, on behalf of Nilupolis, by Theogi-, son of Satabus and Herakl-, and grandson of Satabus. (Hd. 3) I, Nemesas, have signed it."

Nr. 2257 Penthemeros-Certificate (Pl. VIII)

P. 25140
 10 × 7 cm

Fayum
 118/119 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, lower 2.5 cm, left 0.5-1 cm. The medium dark brown papyrus is in a mediocre state of preservation, riddled with holes and increasingly chewed and damaged to the right. Except for the signatures the text was written by a single hand, quite small and cramped.

Unusual in this penthemeros certificate are the specific mention in line five of the site of the work on the canal, and the absence of the canal worker's name.

ἔτους β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος]
 Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀρίστ(ου) Σ[εβ(αστοῦ) Γερ(μανικοῦ) Δακ(ικοῦ)]
 Παρθικοῦ· ε<[ι]ργ(ασται) ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) πέντε ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν)
 ἔργων τοῦ β (ἔτους) [...]...[...].ιβ-
 5 ἐπ' ἐμβλή(ματι) καὶ καταράχ(τη) διώ(ρνγος)] .ολ()
 (m.2) σεση(μείωμαι) Ἀγχῶ(φίς) (m.3) σεση(μείωμαι) Π[...]
 τ[ε]φερῶς
 (m.4) Ἀκονν() σ(εσημείωμαι)

2 Ἀρίστ(ου) : The only other attestation of this word in a titlature of Hadrian cited by Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, p. 63, is P.Flor. 326.5, 24.

5 καταράχ(τη) : This reading is quite tentative, since the script consists of more or less ambiguous squiggles.

.ολ() : The letters are so uncertain that I hesitate restoring Φολ(ήμεως).

6-8 As far as I can ascertain, these *katasporeis* are otherwise unknown.

Translation: "Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Optimus (Augustus Germanicus Dacicus) Parthicus. Work done for five days on the dike works for the 2nd year... at the sluice-gate and the sluice of the... (canal). (Hd. 2) I, Anchophis, have signed it. (Hd. 3) I, P-tepheros, have signed it. (Hd. 4) I, Akun-, have signed it."

Nr. 2258 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21481
 7 × 5.7 cm

Narmuthis
 June 8-12, 138 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, lower 1.3 cm. Folded three times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and lacks the leftmost fold.

This is the first penthemeros-receipt to record work done by a resident of Narmuthis.

[(ἔτους) πρ]ώτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
 [Αίλι]ον Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντων(ίνου) Σεβαστοῦ
 [Εὐσεβοῦ]ς· εἰργ(ασται) ὑ(πὲρ) χωμ(ατικῶν) ἔργων
 [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] α (ἔτους) (m.2) Παῦνι γν- ἔως ιζ-
 5 [ἐν τῇ παλα]ῖᾳ ἐξαθ(ύρω) Ναρμούθ(εως)
 [± 8] .εανῶτ(ος) (μῆτροῦς) Ερ.....
 [± 5 (m.3?) ἐξ]αθ...[± 5] .[.]τα...σ.

5 [παλα]ῖᾳ ἐξαθ(ύρω) : BGU 1075 (Theadelphia, 148 A.D.) is the first mention of this sluice; see O. M. Pearl, "ΕΞΑΘΥΡΟΣ", *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 223-230.

7 The papyrus is badly damaged and the readings anything but conclusive. My guess is that the line contained some mention of the παλαιὰ ἐξάθυρος as well as the signer's name and title. Read perhaps [α]τα(σπορεῦς) σεση(μείωμαι).

Translation: "(First year) of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus (Pius). Work done on the dike-works for (the same) 1st year. (Hd. 2) Payni 13-17 (at the old) sluice-gate, on behalf of Narmuthis, by N.N., son of -eanos and Her-, ..."

Nr. 2259 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21412
7 × 3.2 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
July, 140 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.1 cm, lower 1.3 cm. Only one and a half folds of the medium light brown papyrus remain.

[ἐτους]ς τρίτον Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος]
[Τίτου] Αἰλίου Ἀδριαν[οῦ] Ἀντωνίνου Σεβα-
[στοῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς· ἐργ(ασται) ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν) ἔργων]
[τοῦ α]δτοῦ γ (ἐτους) (m.2) ἐφ' ἡμ(έρας) [± 5 ἀκολούθως]
5 [τοῖς] κελευσθ(εῖσιν) Ἐπειφ κ[]
[] Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσον [δεῖνα]
[Ὀν]ρόφρ(εως) το(ῦ) Ὀν[όφρ(εως) μητ(ρός) δεῖνος]
(m.3) [?Σατ]αβο() σεση(μείωμαι)

Translation: "The third (year) of Emperor (Caesar) Titus Aelius Hadrianus (Antoninus Augustus) Pius. (Work done on the dike-works for the) same 3rd year (Hd. 2) for . . . days (in accordance with the) orders, Epeiph 2(. . .) on behalf of Soknopaiu Nesos, by N.N., son of Onnophris and N.N., and grandson of Onnophris. (Hd. 3) I, Satabus (?), have signed it."

Nr. 2260 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21415
6.4 × 6.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
May 26-30, 142 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 1 cm, lower 1 cm. Three and a half vertical folds of this light brown papyrus remain. It is badly abraded and worm eaten.

ἐτους πέμπτον Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος]
Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριαν(οῦ) Ἀν[τωνίνου]
Σεβασ(τοῦ) Εὐσεβοῦς· ἐργ(ασται) [ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν) ἔργ(ων)]
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ε (ἐτους) (m.2) Παῶνι αἶ [ἐν]
5 τῇ [Δ]ρυμειτ(ίδι) διώ(ρνγι) Σοκν[ο(παίου) Νήσον]
[] Παροσ() το(ῦ) []
(m.3) [] γ σ[εση(μείωμαι)]

Translation: "The fifth year of Emperor (Caesar) Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. Work done (on the dike-works) for the same 5th year (Hd. 2) Payni 1-5 (at) the canal of Drymitis on behalf of Soknopaiu (Nesos), by N.N., son of Panos- (and N.N., and grandson of N.N. (Hd. 3) Signed by me), -n."

Nr. 2261 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21411
4.8 × 4.8 cm

Theadelphia
July 25-29, 154 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, right 0.6 cm, lower 0.9 cm. Folded four times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and badly damaged where the leftmost fold has broken off. To the far right are two diagonal strokes belonging to the succeeding certificate in the roll.

[] ς[.]
(m.2) [ἐτους ιζ] Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
[Τίτου Αἰ]λίου Ἀδριαν[οῦ] Ἀντ[ων(είνου)]
[Σεβαστ]οῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ε(τ)ργ(ασται) ὑ(πὲρ)
5 [χω(ματικῶν) ἔργ]ων τοῦ α(δτοῦ) ιζ (ἐτους) (m.3) Μεσ(ορῇ) αἶ
[] ερσιος ἐπὶ πύλ(ης) Θεαδελ(φίας)
[] ρον Σνεφερ(ῶτος) μ(ητρὸς) Ταουεῖτ(ος)

- 1 ς: P. Hamb. 75 also bears the number indicating its order among the receipts written in advance; see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 16 *fin*.
6 πύλ(ης) Θεαδελ(φίας): Cf. P. Tebt. 658.4-5 (= *BASP* 6 (1969) 124, n.9): εἰς ῥόις ὄδα(ος) πύλ(ης) ὁρ(εινῆς) Τεπτινέως.
7]ρον Σνεφερ(ῶτος) κτλ.: Cf. BGU 1075 (Theadelphia, 148 A.D.): Τέως Κρονίωνος Σνεφερῶ(τος) (μητρὸς) Ταουεῖτ(ος). The letter traces remaining on the papyrus edge, however, do not conform to any abbreviation of the name Kronion. It seems therefore that the worker in this text may have been Teos' half brother, son of Kronion's brother, who was also married to Taueis at some time, viz.:

Snepheros	Snepheros
-ros + Taueis	Kronion + Taueis
X	Teos

Translation: "... 6. (Hd. 2) (Year 17) of Emperor Caesar (Titus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus (Augustus) Pius. Work done on the (dike-works) for the same 17th year (Hd. 3) Mesore 1-5 . . . at the desert-gate on behalf of Theadelphia, by N.N., son of -ros and Taueis, and grandson of Snepheros."

Nr. 2262 Penthemeros-Certificate

P. 21464
6.5 × 3.8 cm

Polydeukia
138-161 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.3 cm, right 1.3 cm, lower 1.2 cm. The papyrus is light brown and in excellent condition, apart from having lost the left one-third.

This is the second penthemeros-certificate from Polydeukia; cf. BGU 1077 (163 A.D.).

- [(ἐτους) . Αὐ]τοκράτ(ορος) Καίσαρος
 [Τίτον Αἰ]λίον Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) Ἀντων(ίνου)
 [Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσε]βοῦς· εἰργ(ασται) ὑ(πὲρ) χ(ωματικῶν) ἐργ(ων)
 [τοῦ . ἔτο]υς (m.2) Ἐπ(ε)ῖφ ἱαῖε
 5 [ἐν τῇ] Ψιναλ(ειτίδι) διώ(ρυνι) Πολυδ(ευκίας)
 [.] γεφερῶ(τος) το(ῦ) Ἀπύγχ(εως)
 [.] μ(ητρος) Θερμ()
 [(m.3)] ων σεση(μείωμαι)

5 Ψιναλ(ειτίδι): Attested in certificates from Theadelphia, Polydeukia, and Euhemeria; see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 80.

Translation: "(Year . . .) of Emperor Caesar (Titus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus (Augustus Pius). Work done on the dike-works (for the -th year) (Hd.2) Epeiph 11-15 (in the) Psinalitis-canal, on behalf of Polydeukia, by N.N., son of -nepheros and Therm-, and grandson of Apynchis. (Hd.3) I, -on, have signed it."

Nr. 2263 List of Canal Workers

P. 21452
 22.6 × 8.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
 mid 2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1 cm, lower 1.8 cm. Between lines four and five is a space only slightly larger than the usual interlinear space. The papyrus is light brown and in a poor state of preservation. In many places abrasion has removed all but a few ink specks. The small vertical script may be very generally assigned to the mid-second century A.D.

One word in the second line divulges the character of this list of men from Soknopaiu Nesos. It presents either those who are obliged to work on the canals, or those who have already completed their five-day stint. A check of names appearing on penthemeral receipts from Soknopaiu Nesos does not reveal any certain identities.

Possible parallels include BGU 513, 618, 1634, 2264; SB 5124; P. Mich. 380, 381.

- [± 6] traces
 [± 6 τ]ὰ χ[ώ]ματα [
 [± 5 Σο]κνοπ[α]ίου Νήσου [
 [λ]όγου λαοργ(αφουμένων) ἀνδ(ρῶν) [
 5 [Στ]οτοῆτις Σαταβοῦ[ο]ς
 [Ορ]σενούφης Ἀμφιῶ[μ]ιος
 [Π]αβοῦς δὲ διὰ λόγων Π[]ς Σαταβο[ύ]τος
 [.] φρις . α [
 [Π]άνης Πακυσίου Πακν ου νεωτ(έρον) [
 [.]

- 10 [.] Πακύσεως
 Αφρ αφρέμμεως
 Παβοῦς Ἀγχώφεως
 Σαταβοῦς Σαταβο[ύ]τος πρεσβ(υτέρου) Σα[τ]αβ[οῦ]τος
 Σώτας Στοτοῆτις [
 15 Στοτοῆτις δὲ διὰ λόγων Σώτας [
 [Ον]νῶφρις Σώτου τοῦ Στοτ[ο]ήτεως
 Πωλων ἀπάτωρ μητ(ερός) Ἡ[]
 Σωτήριχος Σώτου [
 Ἀρπαγάθης Πανεφρέμ[ε]ως
 Σαταβοῦς ἀνθ' (οὔ) Παβοῦς Π[]
 20 Σαραπίων Σώτου δὲ διὰ λόγ[ων]
 τοῦ Σαταβοῦ[τ]ος
 Πτολεμαῖος [
 Σαταβοῦς Α[]
 Ἀπύγχης ἀδελ[φ]ός
 25 Πακῦσις Πα[.]
 Στοτ[ο]ήτις Στοτοῆ[τ]εως
 Π[α]ον[ή]τις Σατα[β]οῦτος
 Πα[κῦ]σις Πακύσεω[ς]

1 Only the sparsest flecks of ink indicate the presence of a line here. The original wording may have run similarly to that of BGU 618.6-7: κατ' ἀνδρα τῶν δ[φ]ιλόντων ἐργάσασθαι τὰ χωματικά ἐργ[α] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κτλ. or of BGU 513.2ff.: εἰργ(άσαντο) . . . χωματι[κ(ά)] ἐργ(α) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κτλ.

4 λαοργ(αφουμένων): Dike-workers from this tax category are also listed in BGU 618. Regarding the classes of people liable to conscription, see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 9.

7 δὲ διὰ λόγων: According to P. Meyer 9 introd., p. 59 n. 35, this designation is equivalent to ἐπικαλούμενος and distinguishes the official name (preceding) from the sobriquet (succeeding). See also P. Petaus, p. 55 and R. Calderini, "Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 243.

13 Σαταβοῦς: The beta has been corrected from something else.

19 ἀνθ' (οὔ): Synonymous to δὲ καί (P. Basel 10.5 note; P. Petaus, p. 55; Calderini, *op. cit.*, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 241.

Nr. 2264 Lists of Canal Workers (Pl. VIII)

P. 21478
 11.5 × 9 cm

Fayum
 198 A.D.

Verso blank. Two sheets of coarse papyrus have been joined to one another, the lighter left one overlapping the darker right one. Of the left sheet, only the right half remains. When it was whole it probably measured about 7 cm in width. An upper margin measures 0.7 cm. The script consists of large individual rather clumsy letters. For two-thirds its length the right papyrus lacks from the

right side a strip five letters wide. A left margin measures approximately 1 cm, upper 1.5 cm. The hand is small and fast, rife with abbreviations.

Once forming part of a *tomos synkollesimos*, these two documents list workers who during a certain time had participated in the cleaning and repair of canals. Whether the fragmentary left document was submitted by the same official, dealt with the same water-way, and covered a space of time immediately preceding that of the right document, is impossible to say. However, the more fully preserved report on the right may be compared to SB 5124; BGU 513; P. Bouriant 39; P. Mich. 380, 381; SB 9496; P. Fay. 25 and perhaps 2265. (BGU 618, 1634 list men *obliged* to work on the canals; to which group the fragmentary 2263 belongs is uncertain). It was compiled by a certain Plut-, *katasporeus*, who is otherwise unknown, and submitted probably to the strategos (see Sijpesteijn, "Zum Bewässerungswesen im römischen Ägypten", *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 10).

It is furthermore inconclusive whether the men here listed had completed their penthemeros- or their naubion-quota. Features of the text which support the argument that this is a list of five-day-workers are as follows: The very fact that the report covers a certain period of days, albeit the span of time seems to be more than a penthemeros (l. 8-9). Since the amounts of naubia are usually measured in fractions it is unlikely that many had to work more than a day to fill their allotted quota (Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 18). However, it is not necessary that all the men here listed worked the entire time period which this report covers; their stint, be it measured in penthemeroi or naubia, may simply have been completed sometime within the limits of this reckoning. The presence of the *katasporeus* (l. 6) is strong supporting evidence that this is not a naubion list, for *katasporeis* never appear in naubion-certificates (*ibid.*, p. 19).

The strongest argument for this being a naubion-report is the appearance of the phrase *ἀναβολή χωμάτων* (l. 8). The same phrase appears in four naubion-certificates and a list of naubion workers (see l. 8 note)—never in penthemeros-certificates. Characteristic of naubion-certificates is their validity for several members of a family (Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 75)—so here appear in l. 12-18 brothers and cousins. One finds, however, brothers and whole families conscripted in penthemeros-lists, e.g. SB 5124; BGU 618. Finally, as stated above, the report seems to cover more than a penthemeros and may be a general fifteen-day report of men who sometime within that given period had completed their naubion-quota.

Column I

[ἔτους ζ' Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σε[ου]ρήρου]
[Εὔσεβοῦς Περί[νακ]ος Σεβασ[τοῦ]
[Ἀραβικοῦ] Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
[μεγίστου] καὶ Μάρκου Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστ[ῶ]ν.

5 []ν- εἰς ἀναψη[σ](μόν)
[] . ουκαινη . . ()
[] τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ζ (ἔτους) ἀν-
[] κατ' ἄνδρα·
[] . αι Τριπτολ() δη(μόσιος)
10 [] . οου
[]
[] τος
[] τος
[] . ου
15 []
[] ου
[] . ξ
[] . .

Column II

(m. 2) ἔτους ζ' Λουκίου Σεπ[τιμίου]
Σεονή(ρον) Εὔσε(βοῦς) Περ(τίνακος) Σ[εβαστοῦ]
Ἀρ(αβικοῦ) Ἀδ(ιαβηνικοῦ) Παρθ(ικοῦ) [μεγίστου]
καὶ Μάρκ(ον) Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντ[ωνίνου]
5 Σεβασ(τῶν)· παρὰ Πλουτ[± 6]
κατασ(πορέως) χω(μάτων) Μέμφε[ως e.g. οἱ ὑπογ(εγραμμένοι)]
ἄνδρ(ες) εἰργ(άσαντο) εἰς ἀνα[ψησ(μόν) καὶ]
ἀναβολ(ήν) χωμ(άτων) διώ(ρνος) Μέμφ(εως) ἀπ[ὸ] .
ἕως κ- τοῦ Παχῶ(ν) μην(ός) τοῦ
10 ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ζ (ἔτους)· εἰσι δέ·
Ὀνωφ . . .] δη(μόσιος)
Ἐκασίς Π[α]ρήσ(ιος) Σουμήιτ[ο]ς
Παῖσις Παήσ(ιος) μητ(ρός) Ταίβ(ιος)
Ἐκασίς Πανε() Ἀμμωνοῦτ(ος)
15 Μιῶσις Παή[σ](ιος) Σουμήιτος
Ἀβῶκίς [Π]αήσ[ι](ος) Σουμήιτος
Ἀφηοῦς Ἀφέως Σουμήιτος
Ὀν[ῶ]φ(ρις) Α. γαν() Σ[ουμήιτος?]
(γίνονται) [ἄνδρες η]

Column I

4]ων(ίνου): Stretching from the broken edge of the papyrus is a wavy line ending in a downward stroke slanting heavily towards the left. One might therefore also want to read Ἀντω]ν(ινου).

5]ν̄ :]ν̄ or]η̄ are also possible readings. ῥ(ρῳδσάρτο) ?

ἀναψη[σ](μῳν): Instances of this word are cited by Meyer in P. Giss. 42, introd. p. 52. See also P. Ryl. 90.20, and D. Bonneau, "Liturgies et fonctionnaires de l'eau à l'époque romaine: souplesse administrative", *Akten d. XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. Münchener Beiträge 66 (1974) 41–42. According to the evidence of P. Ryl. 90, canal cleaning became a liturgy in the early third century; according to this papyrus it was in 198 still a matter for short-term, conscripted labor.

6 One expects the locale where the work was performed to stand here, and ἐξᾶνθ[ρον] καιῆς comes to mind. However, the remnants of the letter on the papyrus edge resemble more those of an epsilon or sigma than rho.

Column II

5 Πλουτ[... δεινός]; [... καὶ δεινός] κατασ(πορέων); [... χωμ(ατεπιμελητοῦ) καὶ] κατασ(πορέως) are various possible restorations.

6 κατασ(πορέως): From the evidence of the penthemeros-certificates, as well as from BGU 12 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 389), it is apparent that these officials in their capacity as *chomatepimeletae* certified those who had filled their five-day quota of work. See Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, pp. 15–17; Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 73, 188; 2265.

χω(μάτων) Μέμφε[ως]: Appears for the first time in a naubion certificate published in P. Sijpesteijn, "Einige Papyri aus der Giessener Papyrussammlung", *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 129.

7 ἀνδρ(ες): Following the delta is a long vertical stroke—more like iota than rho.

8 ἀναβολ(ήν) χωμ(άτων): Cf. the phrasing of BGU 513.2–4: εἰργ(άσαντο) . . . ἐς ἀναβολ(ήν) χωμ(άτων), and see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 13 (there read "numbers 24–27 inclusive and 92 of the naubion list").

διώ(ρνος) Μέμφ(εως): This was heretofore a creation of Grenfell and Hunt in P. Tebt. II, p. 389, based on uncertain readings in BGU 658 I 5, II 5. See Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 51 on no. 41; *op. cit.*, *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 129 n. 4. This Memphis is undoubtedly the village in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome.

ἀπ[ὸ] . . . : After the lacuna there is only a long, horizontal, rounded base of a letter (ς?). One expects the numeral sixteen, to make the required five-day period; otherwise this may be a fifteen-day report, from the 6th to the 20th, covering three penthemeroi.

9–10 κ̄ τοῦ Παχώ(ν) . . . ς (ἔτους): May 15, 198 A.D.

12 Ἐκασίς: *addendum onomasticis*.

14 Ἐκασίς: The letter following kappa might be a misformed alpha or a rho and another letter, since it dips so far below the line before swinging upward to another sharp downward slash before joining sigma.

19 Following the long stroke for (γίνονται) on two slender fibers are three dots of ink—to none of which can be assigned certain letter values.

Translation (col. II 1–10): "Year 6 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax (Augustus) Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus (Maximus) and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augusti. From Plut— . . . , *katasporeus* of the dikes at Memphis. (The following?) men have worked at the cleaning (and) building up of the dikes on the canal of Memphis from the . . . th to the 20th of the month Pachon in the present 6th year. They are . . ."

Nr. 2265 Report from the Chomatepimeletae

P. 21500

7.9 × 8.8 cm

Fayum

ca. 206 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.0 cm. Two papyri have been joined together to form part of a *tomos*. Both are in very poor condition, being worm-chewed and abraded, and lacking an indeterminate amount from the left and bottom.

These fragmentary texts seem to be obligatory reports from the overseers of the dike and canal workers to the strategos (cf. 2264; P. Bouriant 39); however, in view of their mangled condition, this is at best a guess. Nonetheless, the right hand document adds an interesting detail to the career of the little known strategos, Hierax, extends by twenty-five years the period in which *chomatepimeletae* are known to have functioned and identifies the well-known Argaitis canal with the once attested Phiale canal.

On *chomatepimeletae* in general, see Sijpesteijn, "Zum Bewässerungswesen im römischen Ägypten", *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 9–16.

Column I

]traces

]traces

]ι Θεμί(στ-) καὶ

δια]δ[ε]χομένω

5] . . . λ()

] . ον καὶ

κατ]ασπορέω(ν

] . ησα[. .]ι

] . . . η'

10]ασιν

] . []

Column II

(m. 2) Τέρακι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου)

Θεμ(ίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)

διαδεχο(μένων) καὶ τὰ κατὰ

τὴν στρ(ατηγ)ίαν [τῆς]

5 Ἡρακ[λείδ(ον)] μερί[δος]

παρά[. . .] . φ[ο]ν καὶ

Νεῖλον τῶν β-

κατασπορέων καὶ

χωματοεπιμελ(ητῶν)

10 διώρ[ρ]νος Ἄρ[γα]ίτι

δ[ο]ς Φιάλης λεγ(ομένης)

[. .] . [.] ε . . [.] . η . . .

Column I

Although the top of the left papyrus is flush with the top of the right one, traces of ink are visible on its uppermost edge.

Column II

1 Τέρακι στρ(ατηγῶ) κτλ.: Heretofore Hierax is attested in one document, P. Fam. Tebt. 51.1 = SB 5342 (206 A.D.), and there as strategos only of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon. BGU 199 presents a parallel instance of a single strategos administering the entire Arsinoite nome.

- 5 *Ἡρακ[λείδου]*: Most of the papyrus is here missing, and definitely identifiable letter forms are impossible to ascertain.
- 9 1. *χωματεπιμελητῶν*: The latest mention of these officials is BGU 12 (181/2 A.D.). In this text they are still viable functionaries twenty-five years later. For other examples of pairs of *katasporeis* acting as *chomatepimeletae*, see Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.*, *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 11, 13.
- 10 *Ἀρ[γὰ]ῖτις*: O. M. Pearl, “*ΑΡΓΑΙΤΙΣ* and *ΜΟΗΠΙΣ*”, *Aegyptus* 34 (1954) 27–34 locates this canal between the divisions of Heraklides and Polemon, identifies it with the modern Bahr Torsa, and indicates that the Egyptians called it “Moeris”. See Calderini, *Dizionario* I 2, pp. 191–3.
- 11 *Φιάλης*: Cf. SB 9546.4,5: *διόρυχος Φιάλης* and O. Mich. 267.1: *διώρυχος Ἐκφιάλης* (BL III, p. 263 suggests *Σκντάλης*). This bit of information is intriguing: the famous Argaitis canal was also called the “Bowl” canal—if not for all, then at least part of its length where, perhaps, a certain geological contour inspired this designation. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 79 suggests the possibility that individual canals may have been variously named along their lengths. This text seems to substantiate his idea.

Translation (column II 1–10): “To Hierax, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the divisions of Themistes and Polemon, and deputy-strategos of the division of Heraklides, from –inos and Nilos, the 2 *katasporeis* and *chomatepimeletae* of the Argaitis canal, called the “Bowl” . . .”

Receipts for Seed Grain

The following three receipts are each exemplary of a type subsumed under the common designation of receipts for seed grain (P. Chic. Goodspeed, pp. 7–8). In these receipts Fayumic farmers state that they have received from the sitologoi one artab of grain for each arura they will cultivate. Numerous parallels have been published and analyzed by E. Goodspeed in P. Chic. Goodspeed, more recently by H. G. Gundel, “Einige Giessener Saatquittungen”, *Chron. d'Ég.* 47 (1972) 204–216.

Nr. 2266 Receipt for Seed Grain

P. 25117
4.8 × 8 cm

Fayum
158/159 A.D.

Upper margin 0.8 cm, left 1.5 cm, lower 1.8 cm. The four lines of small, swift cursive script are written across the grain of fiber, while on the verso, also written across the grain is the abbreviation: *σεση(μείωμαι)*.

*σπερμάτων κβ' Ἀντωνίνου Καί[σαρος]
τοῦ κυρίου ξ' κληρουχίας Μύσθης Ζ[]*

*Πατσώ(ντεως) βασ(ι)λ(ικῆς) (ἀρούρας) δβ'
Κερκ(εσσούχων) προσ(όδου) (ἀρούρας) δγ'*

5 verso: *σεση(μείωμαι)*

- 2 ξ' *κληρουχίας*: See O. M. Pearl, “The 94 Klerouchies at Karanis”, *Akten d. XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Münchener Beiträge 66 (1974) 325–330.
- Μύσθης*: See 2224 II 9–10 note.

Translation: “From the seed reserves of the 22nd (year) of Antoninus Caesar the lord. From the 60th cleruchy, Mysthes, son of Z—. At Patsontis, 4²/₃ aruras of royal land; at Kerkesucha, 4¹/₃ aruras of leased land.”

Nr. 2267 Receipt for Seed Grain

P. 21466
6.1 × 5.6 cm

Fayum
mid 2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 0.8 cm, lower 1.3 cm. The papyrus is light brown and well-preserved. The script is a swift and skilled cursive. See introduction to 2266.

*ἔσχον προσφ(ώνησιν)
χειρογρ(αφίας) σπερμάτω(ν)
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ι (ἔτους)
Βακχιάδος Δημ() Πα-
5 νέσνεως Βελλείους
ὁ(πέρ) (ἀρουρῶν) γλ (ἀρτάβας) γλ Φαμεν(ώθ)*

- 3 ι (ἔτους): Probably, but not necessarily, the tenth year of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (P. Chic. Goodspeed, introd., p. 2; Gundel, *op.cit.*, p. 206).
- 4 *Βακχιάδος*: The locale may appear both before the name of the recipient and after (*ibid.*, p. 211, n. 3).
Δημ() κτλ.: The recipient is identified by the names of his father and grandfather; the definite article before the latter's name is not mandatory (*ibid.*, p. 208, n. 4).
- 5 *Βελλείους*: or *Βελλήως*.
- 6 *Φαμεν(ώθ)*: Dates rarely appear in these receipts. Phamenoth (February 25–March 26) is unusually late (*ibid.*, pp. 215–216). However, the reading is not altogether certain.

Translation: “Under declaration in the form of a *chirograph*, I, Dem—, son of Panesneus, grandson of Belles, have received from the seed reserves of the present 10th year in Bacchias, for 3¹/₂ aruras, 3¹/₂ artabs. Phamenoth (?).”

Nr. 2268 Receipt for Seed Grain

P. 21490
8 × 7.7 cm

Fayum
156/157 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.3 cm, upper 0.5 cm. Folded three times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and well-preserved except for minor breaks. The script is a large, scrawling cursive, strikingly similar to BGU 2018 (see *ZPE* 9 (1972) Taf. Va).

Apart from one word in line three, the text offers no peculiarities and may be compared to P.Chic.Goodspeed 46; BGU 171, 701 (which are reproduced in P.Chic.Goodspeed as italic 36 and 42).

σιτολ(όγοις) κόμης Κα[ραν] (ιδος) χαιρεῖν·

ἔσχομεν παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς

δάνεια σπερ(μάτων) κατασπορᾶς

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ

5 γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) νθ (ἔτους) πδ κλ(ηρουχίας)

Ζηνᾶς Πασίωνος καὶ

Κασιανὸς δ καὶ Πτολεμαῖς Παῖ()

Ψεν(αρφενήσεως) Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) οὐσ(ίας) (ἀρουρῶν) ε, δμ(οίως) βασιλ(ικῆς)

(ἀροῦρας) α,

Πτολ(εμαίδος) . . . (ἀρουρῶν) β (γίνονται) (ἀρουραι) η

10 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ὁκτώ] (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) η Ζηνᾶς Πασίω-

[νος καὶ Κασια]νὸς δ κ(αὶ) Πτολ(εμαῖς) Παῖ()

[. . .] . . .

3 δάνεια σπερ(μάτων): Kalén in P. Berl. Leihg., p. 73 discusses variations of this phrase.

4 κατασπορᾶς: The word does not otherwise appear in these receipts. In an official letter from the year 140/1 A.D. the phrasing parallels that of this text almost word for word: P. Tebt. 341.4-8: δεῖσι ἐπισταλῆναι εἰς δάνει[α] σπέρματα κατασπ[ο]ρᾶς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους) κτλ.; similar is P. Oxy. 2956.7-9.

9 κ (ἔτους): i.e. of Antoninus Pius; see Goodspeed, P. Chic. Goodspeed, introd., p. 2. The traces after Πτολ(εμαίδος) resemble more Γερ(μανικ-) than προ(σόδον), the two land categories most often associated with this town; however, they are so uncertain that I hesitate choosing between the two possibilities.

10 There are in the space where I have indicated a lacuna several ink flecks, but nothing which can be assigned any value.

10-11 The names are written in what is apparently the same script but now smaller and neater.

Translation: "To the sitologoi of the village of Karanis, greetings. We, Zenas, son of Pasion, and Kasianos, alias Ptolemais, son of Pae-, have received from you for a loan of seed grain eight artabs, total 8 art., from the produce of the past 19th year for sowing in the present 20th year the 84th kleruchy: at Psenarpsenesis on Maecenas' estate 5 aruras, likewise 1 arura of royal land; at Ptolemais, 2 aruras of . . ., equals 8 aruras. We, Zenas, son of Pasion, and Kasianos, alias Ptolemais, son of Pae-, . . ."

Nr. 2269 Receipt for the Payment of Grain Transport Fees

P. 21459
16.2 × 10.5 cm

Fayum
138/139 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 2 cm. The mottled dark and light brown papyrus has suffered the loss of large sections from the top, the left and bottom. Throughout the center are numerous worm holes. The hand is small and neat.

Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis, and Wetis the elder, camel drivers from Soknopaiu Nesos, state that they have received from sitologoi payment in kind for their services in the transport of the state grain for the years 137/8 and 138/9 A.D. They also receive a payment in arrears for their labor in 132/3 A.D.

Parallel documents include: P. Berl. Frisk 1 (= SB 7515); 2270; P. Lond II 295 (p. 100); P. Aberd. 30. For further discussion, see Rostovzew, "Kornerhebung und -transport im griechisch-römischen Ägypten", *Archiv* 3 (1906); Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 34.

σειτολόγοις

α (ἔτους) Ἀ[ντωνεῖνον] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου·

οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι καμηλ[οτ]ρ[ό]φοι κόμη[ς]

Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου Ἡρακλε[ίδου] μερίδος·

5 ἀπέχομεν παρὰ [ὑμ]ῶν τὰς ἐπι[σταλείσας]

ἡμε[τε]ρὰ ὑπὸ Αἰλ[ίου] Νούμισ[ιαν]οῦ [στ]ρατη[γοῦ]

Θεμίστου κ[αὶ] Π[ο]λέμωνος μερί[δων] καὶ

Ἀρτεμιδώρου β[ασ]ιλ[ικοῦ] γρ(αμματέως) τ[ῶν] αὐ[τῶν] με[ρίδων]

ὑπὲρ φορέτρων π[ρ]οῦ δημοσίου ἀπερ[γ]α[σί]ας

10 γενήματος α (ἔτους) Ἀ[ντωνεῖνον] [Κ]αίσαρος τοῦ

κ[υ]ρίου καὶ κ[α] (ἔτους) Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ γεν[ήμα-]

[τος] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρα[κ]λείδων μερίδος ἀπὸ πυροῦ

[δημοσίου] (ἀρτάβας) φναL, κ[αὶ] μετὰ τὰς ἀπὸ γ[ενή]ματος ις (ἔτους)

[ἐπι]σταλείσας ἡμεῖν (ἀρτάβας) λ. L. [.]. τὰς λοι-

15 [πὰς] ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) α (ἔτους) Ἀντω[νε]ῖνον Καίσαρος

[τοῦ] κυρίου ἐπὶ θη[σαυροῦ] Διονυσιάδος

[(ἀρτάβας)] φινθ, ὧν ἀπεργασί[ας] γενή(ματος) α (ἔτους)

[(ἀρτάβας)] φινθ, γ[εν]ή(ματος) κα (ἔτους) [(ἀρτάβας)] βδ, (γίνονται) αἱ

π(ροκείμεναι)

[ἔ]σμεν δέ·

20 Στοτοήτις Στ[ο]τοήτιος (ἀρτάβαι πυροῦ) νξ

Οδῆτις πρεσβύ[τερος]] (ἀρτάβαι πυροῦ) νθ

(γίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι)

(ἔτους) α [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τί]του Αἰλίου

Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβασ[τοῦ] Εὐ[σεβοῦς]

1 *σειτολόγ[οις]*: I hesitate restoring the village here because although the papyrus was probably retrieved from Dime, it was most likely written in a village of the division of Themistes or Polemon, whence the two camel drivers took it home with them to Soknopaiu Nesos. See Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 85 and Börner, "Der staatliche Korntransport", diss. Hamburg, 1939, p. 14.

6-8 The strategos made the orders for payment which were countersigned by the royal secretary (P. Berl. Frisk, pp. 15-16).

That the camel drivers of Soknopaiu Nesos (in the division of Heraklides) should be receiving payment from the strategos of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon finds parallel in P. Aberd. 30, where a camel driver of Soknopaiu Nesos receives a payment made to her by the strategos of the division of Themistes for services rendered in that division. But why are the strategos and royal secretary of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon paying for work done in another division (*ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρακλείδων μερίδος*)? The point of departure was usually the place where the drivers were remunerated (see Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 85 and Börner, *op. cit.*, p. 14); hence Stotoetis and Wetis, conscripted for labor in the division of Themistes and Polemon (see P. Hamb., pp. 71-72 for parallels), received their payment from the officials of the same places.

9 *ἀπεργ[γ]ασ[α]*: Here and in line 17, as in P. Berl. Leihg. 2 R. 3, the syntactic relationship of this word is problematic. I find substantiation for my conclusion that in line 9 *ὑπὲρ* governs *ἀπεργασίας*, and *φόρετον* must mean "transport, expedition" in P. Berl. Leihg. 2 R. 3 note; cf. P. Berl. Frisk, p. 18, n. 4.

13 *πνλ*: 551 $\frac{1}{2}$. This sum is apparently the total amount the two men have received, consisting of an arrears of 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ (?) artabs (line 14), plus the payments due them for their latest services—519 artabs (line 17). The Greek syntax is twisted and does not make much sense if read literally, but this must be the sense if all the figures are to balance.

γ[ενή]ματος *ἔτους*: 132/3 A.D. According to Preisigke, *Griewesen*, pp. 66-68, the meaning of *γένημα* here (and in line 15) is not "harvest" but rather "fiscal year". The camel drivers are not receiving six-year-old grain, but rather produce from one of the last two harvests which is calculated into the arrears for 132/3 A.D. See also Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 87.

13-14 *μετὰ πλ.*: This is evidently a payment of arrears which the two men are only now receiving along with payment due them for their last rendered service; see Börner, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Wilcken, P. Würzb., pp. 72-73; P. Aberd. 30; Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 84.

18 *πνλδ*... *βδ*: 516 $\frac{3}{4}$ and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. The first amount is unusually large in comparison with the figures of P. Berl. Leihg. 2 R, which range from 29 art. to 198 art. It is proximate to the 558 $\frac{5}{8}$ art. paid to Sarapion, son of Elis, in the same text. However, the second amount is comparable to most of the payments recorded in P. Berl. Frisk 1.

Translation: "To the sitologoi . . . Year 1 of (Antoninus Caesar) the lord. We, the undermentioned camel drivers of the village Soknopaiu Nesos of the division of Heraklides, have received from you the 551 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabs of (state) grain requisitioned to us by Aelius Numisianus, strategos of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon, and by Artemidoros, royal secretary of the same divisions, for performing the transport of state grain from the harvest of year 1 of Antoninus Caesar the lord and the harvest of (year) 21 of the deified Hadrian in the division of Heraklides: in addition to the 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabs requisitioned to us from the budget of the 16th year, . . . the remaining 519 artabs from the budget of the 1st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord (which we received) at

the granary in Dionysias: 516 $\frac{3}{4}$ (art.) for performing (the transport) of the harvest of year 1, 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ (art.) (for performing the transport) of the harvest of year 21, totals the aforementioned.

We are Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis, 460 artabs of grain; Wetis the elder, 59 artabs of grain, totals the aforementioned. Year 1 of (Emperor Caesar) Titus Aelius (Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus) Pius . . ."

Nr. 2270 Receipt for the Payment of Grain Transport Fees

P. 21476

11.2 × 9.6 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

155 A.D.

Left margin 1.2 cm, upper 1 cm. The papyrus is light brown and tattered and breaks off after line nineteen. The hand is a small, rapid, cursive one.

In 1931, Hjalmar Frisk published a 3.40 meter long roll consisting of thirty-nine parallel receipts from the *ktenotrophoi* and *kamelotrophoi* of various towns in the Fayum wherein they acknowledged to state bankers the payment for their services in transporting state grain from the granaries to the ports. That roll is now known as P. Berl. Frisk 1 (= SB 7515). A few months later W. Westermann and C. Keyes published a 5 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (= 1.69 m) long roll consisting of nineteen parallel receipts from *ktenotrophoi*, *kamelotrophoi*, a shipper and various guards wherein they acknowledged to state bankers the payment for their services in transporting state grain from the granaries to the ports. That roll is known as P. Col. 1 recto 4. In the meantime, the discovery has been made that these two sections belong to the same roll, and their relationship to one another has been analyzed in P. Col. V by J. Day and C. Keyes (pp. 142ff.). This single receipt belongs to the same *tomos* and must have stood almost at the beginning when the roll was intact, as will be presently demonstrated.

P. Berl. Frisk 1 is temporarily divided between E. Berlin and Jena. G. Poethke has kindly placed at my disposal the one glass containing recto columns 29-39, and F. Uebel on several occasions wrote, answering my questions on col. 1-28 which were under his care in Jena.

Day and Keyes (*op. cit.*, p. 143) propose that the verso of P. Berl. Frisk 1 continues the alphabetical series of *pittakion*-receipts whose beginning lies on P. Col. 1 verso 4, and includes the letters A-H. However, a demonstrable gap lies between the Columbia and Berlin rolls, for the only letter represented in the names of the *pittakiarchs* opposite P. Berl. Frisk 1 col. 39-29 is M. Indeed, not every letter in the alphabet is represented in the series: P. Col. 1 verso 4 lacks names beginning with beta and gamma; P. Berl. Frisk 1 verso lacks names in nu and rho. However, the quantity of names beginning with iota or kappa is such that it seems unlikely that no *pittakiarch* would have a name beginning with one or the other letter. The break in the dating of the recto

receipts further confirms the lacuna, for the Berlin receipts date from Mecheir 10 to 18, and the Columbia ones only begin with Mecheir 29—lacking, obviously, are receipts between Mecheir 18 and 29.

However, the present receipt does not belong in this gap. Although its date is lost, on the verso are remnants of a *pittakion*-receipt bearing the beginning of a *pittakiarch's* name: *Χα...* This evidence places it even before col. 1 of P. Berl. Frisk 1, although how much is missing in between is quite uncertain, for on the verso of P. Berl. Frisk 1, F. Uebel informed me (letter, October, 1974), the names continue (from *M* in E. Berlin) to *O* and *Π*, a few names in *Σ*, to *T* (opposite col. 7–5 of the recto). In the two verso columns remaining (opposite col. 4–1 recto) no *pittakiarch's* name is preserved. Until intervening columns should turn up, very likely in the collection in W. Berlin, this individual text will have to remain unattached.

For the dating of these documents, see P. Berl. Frisk, p. 20. Since this one even precedes the first receipt there, and it is not certain whether it was even written in the month Mecheir, I have refrained from assigning a month to it.

Δείω καὶ Σαβείνω γεγν(μνασιαρχηκότι) καὶ μετόχ(οις) δη(μοσίοις)

τρα[π(εζί)ταις]

οἱ ὑπογεγρα(αμμένοι) δημόσιοι κτηνοτρο[ό]φοι κ[ώ]μης]

Ναρμούθεως διὰ Πρέιμον ἀποσυστα[θ(έντος) ἀπέ-]

χομεν παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπισταλ(είσας) ἡμε[ι]ν ὑπ[ὸ]

5 Πτολεμαῖον βασιλ(ικῶν) γε(αμματέως) Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ος) διαδεχομ(ένου)

[κ]αὶ τῇ(ν) στρ(ατηγίαν) τῶν β⁻ μερ[ί]δ(ων) ἃς ἡτ(η)σάμεθα ἐ[πι-]

[στ]ειλλῆναι ἡμεῖν ὑπέρ φορ[έ]τρων [π]υρ[οῦ]

[οὔ] κα[τ]ήξαμεν ἀπὸ θησαυρῶν Πολ(έμωνος) [εἰς]

[τοῦς] ὁρμους ἀπεργασίας ἐπὶ [τῷ] Δη-

10 [μητρ]ί[φ] τῷ κ(αὶ) Ἀρποκ(ρατίωνι) γενή(ματος) ις (ἐτρως) [(πυρ]οῦ ἀρτάβας). . .]

[ὡς] τῆς (ἀρτάβης) ἐκ[ά]σ(της) η, τὰς συναγομ(ένας) ἀργ(υρίων) (δραχμάς)

[ε]ἰσι δέ·

[.μερο() (ἀρτ.) ζ'· Ἀρ... (ἀρτ.) αλ[]

[. . (ἀρτ.) γ'· Ἡρων[. .]· σε[]

15 [ο() (ἀρτ.) ζ'· Πακ[]· . . []

[. [ω (ἀρτ.) γ'· Νειλ... []

[ε]ρο() . . . β[.]· Π[]

[ειους (ἀρτ.) ζ'· Α[]

[τρ[. .]ο() (ἀρτ.) ζ'· []

1 Σαβείνω: Westermann and Keyes, P. Col. 1 recto 4 introd., pp. 99–100, identify him and trace the probable course of his career.

3 Ναρμούθεως διὰ Πρέιμον: Both are unknown to P. Col. 1 recto 4 and P. Berl. Frisk 1; but see now 2271b which restores the heading to column 10 in the latter roll.

6–7 1. ἐ[πιστ]αλῆναι.

7–9 ὑπέρ . . . ἀπεργασίας: See 2269.9 note; P. Berl. Leihg. 2 R. 3 note.

8–9 ἀπὸ θησαυρῶν . . . εἰς ὁρμους: Cf. P. Lond. II 295.7–8 (p. 100): ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς μερίδος θησαυρῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀποδεδιγμένους ὁρμους, and P. Aberd. 20.9, 30.15 note, where similar expressions occur.

10 ις (ἐτρως): Although the entire group of receipts was written in Mecheir-Phamenoth of 155, the dates of the harvest years vary from the thirteenth to the eighteenth year of Antoninus Pius (Day and Keyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–3). Here too, as in 2269 and P. Berl. Leihg. 2 R, the grain transporters receive payment in arrears.

13–19 In each line were two entries, as in P. Berl. Frisk 1, col. 17.17–24, with the names of the *ktenotrophoi* and the amounts received by them.

14 γ' = 1/2 + 1/3.

Translation (lines 1–12): “To Deios and Sabinos, ex-gymnasiarch, and their colleagues, the state (bankers). We, the undersigned state animal drivers from the (village of) Narmuthis, through Primos, our agent, have received from you the sum total of . . . silver drachmas, (per artab) 8 (drachmas), requisitioned to us by Ptolemaios, royal secretary of the division of Polemon, acting as deputy for the *strategia* of the two divisions, which (amount) we requested be requisitioned to us for performing the transport of grain from the harvest of the 16th year, (– artabs of grain) which we delivered from the *thesauroi* of the division of Polemon (to the) harbors (in the term of Demetrios), alias Harpokration. They are . . .”

Nr. 2271 Receipts for the Payment of Grain Transport Fees

P. 25110

Arsinoitōn polis

Jan.-Feb. 155 A.D.

The following three fragments belong, like 2270, to P. Berl. Frisk 1, and in all but one instance can be exactly placed in that roll. Fig. a restores the first nine lines to column II; an upper margin measures 1.8 cm. Fig. b restores column X 1–7; upper margin 2 cm. Fig. c probably belongs to a lost column; upper margin 2.5 cm. F. Uebel in Jena was kind enough to confirm my positioning of these fragments and to suggest improved readings where Frisk's publication leaves them in doubt. The underlined letters are preserved in P. Berl. Frisk 1. Interesting is the second appearance of the village Narmuthis in fig. b (see 2270.3).

Fig. a 8 × 4.5 cm (= col. II)

Δείω καὶ μετ[ό]χ(οις) δη(μοσίοις) τραπεζί(ταις)]

Σωτήριχος Σ[α]ρ[α]πίωνος]

τ[οῦ] Σωτηρίχου[]ος

κώμ(ης) Διονυσιάδ(ος) []

5 ἀπέχω παρ' ὑμῶν [τὰ]ς

ἐπισταλ(είσας) [ὅ]πὸ Πτολεμ(αίου) [βασιλ(ικοῦ)]
 γρ(α)μματέως) [Πο]λ(έμωνος) [με]ρίδ(ος) δι[α]δεχο(μένον)]
 κ[α]ι [τὰ κατὰ] τὴν στ[ρα]τηγίαν κτλ]

- 3]ος: Uebel noted (letter, January 31, 1974): "Wie das neue Fragment zeigt, steigen die Zeilen nach rechts an; das von Frisk zu Z. 2 Ende notierte]ος—korrekter]ος—gehört folglich eher zu Z. 3 als zu Z. 2. . . . In die 18 mm lange Lücke hinter Upsilon bis]ος (sofern letzteres in diese Zeile gehört) paßt [κτηνοτρόφ] nur bei sehr gedrängter Schreibung, die dem Stil des Schreibers widerspricht; ich weiß hier keine Lösung."
 8 κ[α]ι: Frisk τ[α] κ[α]τα. Uebel reported that the first letter appears as tau because a long sublinear from the preceding line has crossed the vertical hasta of the kappa. The third letter cannot be kappa but must be iota.

Fig. b 5.5×4.3 cm (= col. X)

[Σ]αβείνω κ[α]ι τοῖς μετόχ(οις)
 δη(μοσίοις) τραπ(εζίταις)
 Σάτυρος Ἡρώων[ος δημόσ]ιος
 κτηνοτρόφος κ[α]ὶ ὥμης Ν[α]ρ-
 5 μούθεως διὰ Πρ[ε]ίμων]αθ()
 ἀ[π]έχ[ω] [π]αρ' ὅμ[ων] τ[ὰ]ς
 ἐπισταλ(είσας)].[μερ]ιδ(ος)

- 1 τοῖς μετόχ(οις): The definite article occurs in this context otherwise only in col. XV.
 4-5 Ν[α]ρμούθεως: Here for the second time (see 2270.3).
 5]αθ(): Uebel wrote, "Die Schriftreste lassen an ἀποσυστ]αθ() denken, aber zwischen Πρ[ε] und]αθ() nur 18 mm Platz, zu wenig für Πρ[ε]ίμων ἀποσυστ]αθ()."
 7 The lacuna is much too short to allow for all the words usually appearing between ἐπισταλ() and μερίδ(). It is possible that the indistinct traces read as τ]αξ belong to Πολεμών[ος], written above the line as an insert. But this is a mere guess.

Fig. c 6×4.2 cm new

[Δείω] καὶ Σαβείνω .[
 [οἱ κτη]νοτ(ρόφοι) κ[α]ὶ ὥμης [
 [. . . .] ἀπέχ[ω]μεν [παρ' ὅμ[ων] τ[ὰ]ς ἐπι-
 σταλ(είσας) ἡμ]ῖν ὑπὸ Πτολ[(εμαίου) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμ.) Πολ(έμωνος) μερί-
 δ(ος)]

- 5 [διαδεχ]ομ(ένον) καὶ τὰ κα[τὰ] τὴν στ[ρα]τηγίαν κτλ.]

- 2 [οἱ κτη]νοτ(ρόφοι): There is obviously no room in the lacuna for οἱ ὑπογεγ(), οἱ δη(), or οἱ ἰδιω().
 3 1. ἀπέχ[ω]μεν.

Nr. 2272 Account of Grain Transport

P. 25134 verso

21×10.3 cm

Fayum

2nd c. A.D.

Upper margin 1.4 cm, lower 4.7 cm. Both sides of the fine-textured, light brown papyrus are covered with writing. However, abrasion and numerous small holes have rendered the recto document almost illegible, except for the right line ends. It consists of some dozen entries with names, lineages and sums. After the recto register had served its purpose a section was excised, and having been turned 180° its verso surface employed for another account.

The large, elegant script, similar to Schubart, *P. Gr. Berol.*, pl. 28a, runs across the fiber grain. Abrasion to the left and the disappearance of most of the left margin have robbed the account of some of its entries.

This account lists town-by-town for a period of approximately seven weeks the number of donkey loads of grain (first number) and the artabs of grain (second number) transported from a *thesauros* in a village of the division of Polemon to a port. It is generally regarded as fact that there were in addition to the small village *thesauroi* larger, central *thesauroi* where grain was brought from the former to be expedited onwards to the Nile (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 35 and n. 29; Börner, "Der staatliche Korntransport", diss. Hamburg, 1939, p. 8; Calderini, *Thesaurοι*, pp. 103-4). If the reading in l. 1 ([σιτολ]ωγείας) is correct, it would appear that Berenikis Thesmophoru was the site of such a larger *thesauros* whose sitologoi administered the grain revenues from the villages in this list.

The destination of the animals departing from Berenikis Thesmophoru was probably a minor port on the Polemon canal (modern Bahr Gharaq), for example, Kainē (Frisk, *P. Berl. Frisk*, p. 17 n. 3), whence the grain would be loaded onto barges and transported to Ptolemais Hormu, the chief port of the Fayum (Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Fay.*, pp. 12-14; Börner, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Hagedorn-Youtie, *P. Petaus*, p. 23; Rostowzew, "Kornerhebung und -transport im griechisch-römischen Ägypten", *Archiv* 3 (1906) 220; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 42). That the grain was taken directly by donkey or camel train from the main *thesauros* to the main port seems unlikely for two reasons. First, the waterways were cheaper than land transport, and second, in various documents concerning the land transport there appears the phrase "εἰς τοὺς ὅρμους"—in the plural, referring to small ports along the canal and not the main port of Ptolemais Hormu (see 2270.8-9 note).

Since from parallel lists (*P. Hamb.* 17; *P. Col.* 1 recto 5) it appears that no individual town provided at any time more than a couple dozen animals—and usually far fewer—the large number of donkeys recorded in this text refer evidently not to individual animals, but to incoming donkey loads tallied at the harbor. That is to say, the same animals made the same trip numerous times within the seven-week period.

The three-artab burden was standard (Westermann and Keyes, P. Col. 1 recto 5 introd., p. 156; Meyer, P. Hamb. 17 introd., p. 72). So here in each entry the number of donkeys is multiplied by 3 to produce the number of artabs transported. The arithmetic throughout is correct.

	[. . . .] <i>ωργείας Βερ(ενικίδος)</i>		
	[] <i>καταγωγῆς τῶν Παῦνι ιθ⁻</i>		
	[ξως] <i>Μεσορῆ ζ⁻ ὄνο(ι)</i>		
	[] <i>Ἀψλδ</i>	1734	
5	[(<i>πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι</i>)] <i>Ἐσβ ὦν δ(ιὰ)</i>	5202	
	<i>δημοσίων ὄνω(ν) Ναρμούθ(εως) ὄνο(ι) χρη</i>	698	
	[] (<i>πυρ. ἀρτ.</i>) <i>Ἐγδ</i>	2094	
	[] (<i>πυρ. ἀρτ.</i>) <i>Ἄτοδ</i>	1374	
10	[<i>Μαγδ</i>] <i>ὠλων δη(μόσιοι) ὄνο(ι) με</i>	45	
	[] (<i>πυρ. ἀρτ.</i>) <i>ρλε</i>	135	
	[] <i>δη(μόσιοι) ὄνο(ι) ρν[β]</i>	152	
	[] (<i>πυρ. ἀρτ.</i>) <i>νς</i>	456	
	[] <i>ῥσα† [δ]η(μόσιος) . . . α</i>	1	
15	[] (<i>πυρ. ἀρτ.</i>) <i>γ</i>	3	
	[] <i>να]υλωσίμων Βερ(ενικίδος) δ(ιὰ) γεωρ(γῶν)</i>		
	[] <i>ἄλλ(οι) ὄνο(ι) το (πυρ. ἀρτ.) Ἀρ[ι]</i>	370	1110
	[] <i>.τιμῶν Βερ(ενικίδος) ὄνο(ι) ι (πυρ. ἀρτ.) λ</i>	10	30
	[] <i>. . ὄνο(ι) Ἀψλδ (πυρ. ἀρτ.) Ἐσβ</i>	1734	5202

1 *ωργείας* for *σιτολόγείας*?

Βερ(ενικίδος) scil. Θεσμοφόρον: The only known Berenikis in the division of Polemon. Although I find no mention elsewhere of a granary in Berenikis Thesmophoru, this general heading (l. 1–5) would seem to imply that there was one there, whence the animals contributed from the towns listed below set out.

2 *καταγωγῆς*: The transport of grain from a village granary to the port (Westermann and Keyes, P. Col. 1 recto 5 introd., p. 156).

τῶν scil. ἡμερῶν.

2–3 *Παῦνι ιθ⁻ [ξως] Μεσορῆ ζ⁻* = June 13–July 31.

5 Pap. δ+ = δ(ιὰ). The *καταγωγή* is made through the three different classes of donkeys appearing here below: public (l. 6–15), hired (l. 16–17), i.e. donkeys hired “through the farmers” of Berenikis, and private (l. 18).

14 *ῥσα†*: Either a very small village or *ἐποίκιον*.

16 *να]υλωσίμων*: “hired” animals appear in P. Rein. 54.4; P. Flor. 191.4 *et passim*.

18 *ιδι]ωτικῶν*?: In contrast to P. Col. 1 recto 5, where the division of Polemon furnishes only public animals (Westermann and Keyes, p. 157), it is possible that Berenikis provides a few here, in addition to the hired animals in the preceding entry.

Nr. 2273 Revenue Return

P. 21498

10.7 × 12.4 cm

Arsinoe

August 4–8, 100 A.D.

Upper margin 2.8 cm. The light brown, coarse-textured papyrus has lost its upper left corner and an indeterminable amount after the ninth line. Attached to the left is a fragment with traces of three line ends from the preceding penthemeral register. To the right, at the level of line eight, is a strip with two letters from the succeeding one. The hand is skilled and neat. On the verso are fragmentary traces of an account concerning usiac land.

Kolluthos and his colleagues, sitologoi in Arsinoe, submit probably to the strategos (but see P. Amh. 69) a report of their revenues for five days in August, 100 A.D. Five-day returns from sitologoi are not unknown, but neither are they all too common (see P. Giss. 63; SPP XXII 21; perhaps P. Flor. 330. Unusual is P. Berl. Leihg. 11—a six-day report). This text is further evidence refuting the suggestion that penthemeral returns were an innovation of Hadrian (Lewis, P. Fouad 17 introd.; P. Oxy. 2472.6 note). On the sitologia in general, see P. Mich. Michael 3, commentary; P. Vindob. Worp 4, commentary.

[*παρὰ Κ*] *ολλούθου καὶ μετόχων*

[. . . .] *σιτολόγων Ἀρσινόης*

ε[ισ]τὶν αἱ μετρηθεῖσαι πενθημε(έρον)

τῶν ἀπὸ μηνὸς Καισαρίου ια⁻

5 *ἕως ιε τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος*

[*Καίσαρ*] *ος Ν[έρον]α Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*

[] *γ γενή(ματος).*

[] *)*

[] *κς ἡ'*

1–2 On the absence of an addressee, see 2274.1 note.

3 *αἱ μετρηθεῖσαι scil.* ἀρτάβαι (cf. BGU 529).

7 Following *γενή(ματος)* one expects the year number. The traces do not resemble those of a gamma.

Translation (lines 1–6): “(From) Kolluthos and colleagues, sitologoi of Arsinoe. These are the amounts for the five-day period from the 11th to the 15th of the month Caesarius in the 3rd year of Emperor (Caesar Nerva) Trajanus Augustus . . .”

Nr. 2274 Revenue Return

P. 25113

7.6 × 7.5 cm

Thphois

138–161 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2.0, left 1.4 cm. Before breaking, the medium dark brown papyrus preserves portions of ten lines written in a small and skilled cursive hand, similar to P. Ryl. 74 (pl. 9).

Isidoros and Patsiris submit a man-by-man tax account for the village of Thphois. A copy has been prepared and displayed in the village.

[π]αρά Ισιδώρου καὶ Πατίρει[ως ...]
 [μ]ετασταθ() ἀπὸ ἀριθμ(ήσεως) Τῦβι εἰς [Φαμ-]
 [ε]νόθ Θφώεως
 κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν διαγεγραμμένων ἡμ[ῶν ἀπό ...]
 5 ἕως ι- τοῦ Μεχείρ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστ(ώτος) .. (ἔτους)
 Ἀντων[ίνου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου [.....]
 τὸ ἴσον [προετ]έθη ἐν τῇ κώ(μῃ) ω[
 [ἔσ]τι δ[έ] []
 [.]υνεως .[]..[
 10 []οκ[

1 It is suggested by Curschmann in P. Iand. VII 136 introd., p. 272, that the lack of an addressee might indicate that the roll was a copy prepared in the office of the addressee.

2–3 [μ]ετασταθ() ἀπὸ ἀριθμ(ήσεως) Τῦβι εἰς [Φαμ]ε[νόθ]: The *arithmes* for Tybi covered the period from mid-Tybi to mid-Mecheir (V. B. Schuman, "Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt", *Chron. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 312 n.3); so the date in line five, although in Mecheir, still falls within the *arithmes* for Tybi. However, for some unknown reason a part of the account for Tybi is being transferred to the month of Phamenoth.

3 Θφώεως: It is clear from P. Lond. II 254.155 (p. 228), the only other reference to this village from the Roman period, that it was in the division of Heraklides.

4 In the lacuna one would expect either alpha or epsilon for the date, making this a five- or ten-day report.

5 Μεχείρ ι- = February 4.

7 Pap. ἴσον: P. Tebt. 350.15,39 preserves a similar notation that the report has been duplicated; cf. SPP IV 69.376,377 *et passim*.

Translation: "From Isidoros and Patsiris ... transferred from the account for Tybi to Phamenoth. From Thphois.

A man-by-man list of the payments made to us (from the -th) to the 10th of the month Mecheir in the (present -th year) of Antoninus Caesar the lord ... the copy of which has been displayed in the village ... viz. ..."

Nr. 2275 Two Revenue Returns (Pl. IX)

P. 21491

13 × 10.3 cm

Alexandru Nesos

June 5–14, 155 A.D.

The dark brown and fine-textured papyrus consists of two documents once belonging to a *tomos synkollesimos*. Apart from narrow strips which have disappeared from the right and left sides, and the fragmentary account of receipts in the right hand document, the papyrus is in good condition. Both texts seem to have been written by the same practiced hand. An upper margin on the left document measures 1.0 cm, on the right document 1.5 cm. On the verso is a private account which is written across both papyri. (See 2230 introduction; here it is obvious that both returns are contiguous and not joined by a private individual for his own purposes).

These parallel reports from Nilos and his colleagues to the strategos record the income from the *epistateia*-and-ten-per-cent tax in Alexandru Nesos for two five-day periods in Payni, 155 A.D. During the first period nothing was collected; from the account of proceeds of the second period only fragments remain. However, the texts are interesting on three accounts. The name of the strategos Onomastos is here twice irrefutably legible and cannot be conjectured away as Wilcken attempted when his name first appeared in a Rylands papyrus (see line 1 note). The imposts are attested in only one other Berlin papyrus 2293 and a London papyrus (P. Lond. 305). Although nothing further regarding the taxes themselves can be gleaned from these papyri, it is apparent that the officials collecting them were obliged to submit the usual battery of one-, five- and ten-day, monthly, κατ' ἄνδρα, etc. reports. Lastly, these papyri along with 2293 demand a new reading of P. Lond. 305.2 (see line 4 note).

Related texts and discussions include P. Lond. 305; P. Fay. 62; 2293; P. Oxy. 2472.6 note; Lewis, P. Leit. 14 introd.

Column I

[Ο]νομάστω στρ(ατηγῶ) Θεμ(ίστον)
 καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδω(ν)
 [π]αρά Νείλου καὶ μετ(ό)χ(ων)
 ἐπιστ(ατείας) καὶ δεκ(άτης)
 ἀγο(ράς)

5 [Ἀ]λεξάνδ(ρου) Νήσον· δη-
 λοῦμεν μηδὲν περι-
 [γ]εγο(νέναι) τῶν ἀπὸ ι[α]- ἔ(ως) ιε-
 τοῦ Παῦνι μηνὸς
 τοῦ ἐνεστ(ώτος) ιη (ἔτους)

Column II

Ὀνομάστω στρ(ατηγῶ) [Θεμ(ίστον)]
 καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ[ων]
 παρὰ Νείλου καὶ μετ(ό)χ(ων) ...
 ἐπιστ(ατείας) καὶ δεκ(άτης)
 ἀγο(ράς) Ἀλε-

5 ξάνδ(ρου) Νήσον· λό[γος]
 τῶν περιγεγ(ονότων) ἀπ[ὸ ιε-]
 ἕως κ- τοῦ Πα[ῦνι]
 μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστ(ώτος)
 ιη (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Κ[αίσαρος]

10 [Α]ντωνίνου Καίσαρος	10 τοῦ κυρίου εν[]
τοῦ κυρίου· Νεῖλος ἐπι-	ις- ὄνοι ε (δραχμαί) []
[δεδώκα]	[] βόες δ (δρ.) []
-----	[] .() K[]
	[] . -.[]
	15 [] κπε[]

Column I

- 1 [Ο]νομάστω: This strategos is otherwise known only from P. Ryl. 88.13 and 2241.1. His name is clearly legible in both Berlin texts, thus repudiating Wilcken's conjecture (P. Ryl. 88.13 note) that *ὀνομασί* should be read in that document. The apparent incongruity between this text and Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 62; Bastianini, *Strateghi*, p. 53, where a certain Theodoros, alias Ptolemaios, is listed as deputy-strategos for these two divisions in 155/156, is dispelled by 2216. Theodoros, alias Ptolemaios, is a spurious fabrication in SB 15. 2216 which completes SB 15, reveals Theodoros as the contemporary strategos of the division of Heraklides.
- 4 Before epsilon, on the broken edge of the papyrus, is a distinct trace of ink, looking much like a final sigma. It must be the remnant of the abbreviation for the officials submitting these returns. Their designation is given in P. Lond. 305.2 (p. 79) and read as ἐπιτη(ρη)τ(αί) ἐκ(σ)τάσεως καὶ δεκ(άτης) κτλ. by Grenfell and Hunt in P. Tebt. 350 introd. (On the bases of a photograph of that papyrus supplied by the British Library and 2293 it is obvious that the correct reading in P. Lond. II 305.2 should be ἐπιστα(εἰας) καὶ δεκ(άτης)—although the anomalous squiggles do not lend themselves to sure identification with individual letters.)
- ἐπιστ(ατείας) καὶ δεκ(άτης): Since Wallace's discussion of this impost (*Taxation*, p. 286) based on P. Lond. 305 as read by Grenfell and Hunt, the only new papyri to come to light are this one and 2293. P. Lond. 1107 records an impost ἐπιστατείας καὶ πέμπτης which is discussed by Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262.
- 5–6 δηλοῦμεν: This verb was identified by Meyer in P. Hamb. 6.8f. note as the technical expression in a return where no income was registered. See P. Berl. Möller 5.3 and P. Oxy. 2472.7, both exceptions to the rule.

Translation: "To Onomastos, strategos of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon, from Nilos and associates . . . for the *epistateia*-and-ten-per-cent tax of the market in Alexandru Nesos. We show no income from the 11th to the 15th of the month Payni in the present 18th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. I, Nilos, (have submitted it)."

"To Onomastos, strategos of the divisions of (Themistes) and Polemon, from Nilos and (associates . . .) for the *epistateia*-and-ten-per-cent tax (of the market in) Alexandru Nesos. Account of proceedings from the (16th) to the 20th of the month Payni in the present 18th year of Antoninus (Caesar) the lord . . ."

"16th: 5 donkeys, . . . drachmas . . ., 4 oxen, . . . drachmas . . ."

Nr. 2276 Revenue Return

P. 21905
8.4. × 5.8 cm

Busiris
155/156 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and has been cut after the seventh line. The script is small and neatly written.

This report from Theon and Herakl() and their colleagues, sitologoi for the town of Busiris in the Busirite nome, is singular in its brevity and can be compared only most generally with the reports listed in Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 371 n. 43. Neither a one-, five-, ten-, or thirty-day report, it seems to be an addendum to the annual report of two years previous (see l. 7 note).

It is furthermore remarkable that this document, issued in the lower Egyptian Busirite nome, should have turned up in a box from the Elephantine excavations of O. Rubensohn in January, 1906. That in the last half century the papyrus may have been mislaid is not impossible.

θ

[Ηρα]κλείδη στρατηγῶ) Βουσιρ(ίτου)

παρὰ Θέωνος καὶ Ηρακλ() καὶ μετόχ(ων)

σιτολ(όγων) Βουσίρεως· ἐμετρήθ(ησαν)

5 ἐπὶ Βουσίρ(εως) ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) ἡ (ἔτους)

Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος

ὑ(πέρ) λη(μμάτων) ἰς (ἔτους) πνεοῦ ἀρτάβας

ὅκτω (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) η α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) ὑ(πέρ) πρακ(τορίας)

- 1 θ: Plausible explanations for this single letter are few: the date as in P. Amh. 69.1; the position of the report in a roll (see Curschmann, P. Iand. VII 136 introd., p. 272).
- 2 [Ηρα]κλείδη: He is known only from P. Ryl. 78.1.
- Βουσιρ(ίτου): On the Busirite nome, see P. Oxy. 1380.49–50 note; H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, pp. 34–5.
- 4 ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) . . . l. ἀρτάβαι: Cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 11.12; SB 7198.9, where the same inconsistency occurs.
- 5 ἐπὶ Βουσίρ(εως): Equivalent to, but not as explicit as, ἐν θησανρῶ τῆς προκειμένης κώμης as in BGU 529.7. Apart from P. Oxy. 1380.51, 269 this seems to be the only other papyrus document to mention the town in the Delta; see Calderini, *Dizionario* II 1, p. 66 nr. 2.
- 8 l. <(συμβόλον) (δραχμάς)> α (τριωβ.) (ἡμιωβ.): See 2298.9 note. Here, however, the sign for triobols is a simple vertical stroke, and that for the half-obol is a mere supralinear circle.
- ὑ(πέρ) πρακ(τορίας): O. Tait 978, 980; P. Flor. 330.10; P. Oxy. 2119.9 provide further examples of this abbreviation.

Translation: "9. To Herakleides, strategos of the Busirite nome, from Theon and Herakl() and colleagues, sitologoi of Busiris. There have been measured, in Busiris, from the harvest of the 19th year of Antoninus Caesar, for the revenues of the 17th year, eight artabs of grain, total 8 artabs, (for the receipt) 1 (drachma) 3½ obols; for the *praktoria* . . ."

Nr. 2277 Revenue Return

P. 21923
7.3 × 5 cm

Karanis
215 A.D. (?)

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.6 cm, originally 2 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and fine-textured. On the right a portion has broken off, and the whole lower half of the document is missing. Sticking to the left is a thin strip of papyrus from the preceding text in the roll. Several ink traces are visible on it.

Aurelios Sarapion, money-tax-collector-elect of Karanis, submits to the strategos, Aurelios Apollonios, alias Soter, the report of his revenues for the month of Mecheir. As fragmentary as it is the text is nonetheless interesting for its preservation of the dates and sphere of jurisdiction of Aurelios Apollonios, alias Soter (see l. 1 note).

Αἰρηλ(ῖου) Ἀπολλωνίῳ [τῷ καὶ]
Σωτήρι στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) Ἡρα[κλ(εῖδου) μερίδ(ος)]
παρ(ὰ) Αἰρηλ(ῖου) Σαραπίων[ος ἐν]
κλήρῳ πρακτορίας ἀργυρικ[ῶν]
5 κώ(μης) Καρανίδος.
δι[ε]χρ(άφησαν) ἐπὶ τὴν δη(μοσίαν) τράπ[ε]ζαν
[εἰς ἀρ]έθ(μῳ) μην(ός) Μεχ(εῖρ) τοῦ
[ἐνεσ]τῶτ(ος) κχ (ἔτους)

1-2 Αἰρηλ(ῖου) Ἀπολλωνίῳ [τῷ καὶ] Σωτήρι: He is known only from BGU 473.13 (after 212 A.D.) where Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 220, would have him strategos of the two divisions Themistes and Polemon in the year 200 A.D. Both of these suppositions are proven by this text to be in error. See Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 66 n. 2. Wilcken, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 420, already established the date of the second half of BGU 473 as later than 200 A.D.

3-4 [ἐν] κλήρῳ: "Officials designated as being ἐν κλήρῳ were nominees to the office functioning *pro tempore* while awaiting the final selection that would appoint one or more of them and release the others", N. Lewis, "Leitourgia Studies", *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Papyrology*, Oslo, 1958, p. 235.

7 [εἰς ἀρ]έθ(μῳ): "The period covered by one of these reports was not, as might be expected, a calendar month but extended roughly from the middle of one month to the middle of the next", V. B. Schuman, "Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt", *Chron. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 312 n. 3.

8 κχ: or κς. It is unfortunate that over the date there is a large ink smear. Extending above and below it, however, are traces of a long vertical—either iota or kappa. Since this strategos is an Aurelios he must be dated after 212 A.D., and because 212 was already Caracalla's twentieth and twenty-first year, kappa, not iota, must be read. Caracalla was assassinated on April 8, 217—in his 25th regnal year. He had no 26th year. (P. Oslo 23.17 listed in Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, p. 103, is an error. The editors prefer reading κβ in that line (P. Oslo III, p. 275)). It is always possible that the scribe in writing 26 erred out of oversight or ignorance, but I doubt that the

news of Caracalla's death in April would still be unknown in Egypt almost ten months later. (There is, in fact, a convenient gap in the list of strategoi between Aurelios Dionysios (216/217) and Aurelios Hierax (221) where this one could neatly be placed). In view of the considerations I suggest reading κχ (214/215 A.D.) and placing Aurelios Apollonios, alias Soter, between Aurelios Hierax, alias Ammonios (213) and Aurelios Ailios Isidoros (216). See Bastianini, *Strateghi*, pp. 47-48.

Translation: "To Aurelios Apollonios, (alias) Soter, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, the (division) of Heraklides, from Aurelios Sarapion, money-tax-collector-elect of the village of Karanis. There has been paid into the public bank (for) the account of the month Mecheir of the present 23rd year . . ."

Nr. 2278 Revenue Return (Pl. IX)

P. 21479
7.8 × 9.4 cm

early 3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 0.7 cm, upper margin 0.5 cm, between lines two and three a space of 1 cm. Folded five times vertically. The light brown papyrus, riddled with breaks and worm holes, is broken off after the ninth line. The first hand has slanting, fine strokes. The second is characterized by a thicker, more vertical, yet also skilled ductus.

Aurelios Herieus and Aurelios Puoris, son of Horos, grain-tax-collectors-elect, submit a report of their revenues to the strategos, Aurelios Apollonios, alias Dionysios. The text is badly mutilated in several crucial places and breaks off after the date. However, the document is interesting for the appearance here for the first time of Aurelios Apollonios, alias Dionysios, even if his jurisdiction cannot at present be either geographically or temporally fixed (see l. 4 and 8 notes).

(m. 1) ιθ
(m. 2) τόμ(ος) α- γ()
Αἰρηλῖῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ
Διονυσίῳ στρατηγῷ .[.].()
5 παρὰ Αἰρηλίου Ερ[ε]ώς ἐγ μηνρός
Ταθαρήτος καὶ Π[ο]νώριος Ὁρον
ἐν κλήρῳ πρακτορίας σι[τ]ικ[ῶν]
κώ[μ]ης Ταί[. . .] τῆς Ἀραβίας
τοῦ ἀ[π]ο τοῦ νομοῦ ὑ(πέρ) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α (ἔτους)

2 τόμ(ος) α- γ(): I am at a loss for a sure interpretation of the marks following alpha; perhaps simply gamma, the number of the *kollema*, and a flourish.

3-4 Αἰρηλῖῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ: No strategos of this name is otherwise known.

4 The name of the nome is hopelessly destroyed. To the left of the break is a diagonal stroke and a trace of a vertical—either lambda or mu. To the right above the break is a loop. A fine descending stroke slightly to the right completes the abbreviation.

5 1. *Αὐρηλίων*

ἐγ μητρὸς: Cf. BGU 2073 I 10 recto: *Παχνοῦβις ἐγ μητρὸς Ταμ[...].ος*, where the father's name is also omitted.

6 *Ταθαρητός*: *addendum onomasticis*.

7 *σι[τ]ικ(ῶν)*: The papyrus is badly damaged, the readings very uncertain.

8 *Ται[...]*: One may also read *Ταη[...]*. In P. Ross.-Georg. II 16.8; SPP XXII 4 col. II 10; PSI 544.11 appears a village *Ταῖη* in the Memphite nome. It is tempting to identify the village here with that one; however, it does not fill the lacuna.

Ἀραβίας: Designated that part of a nome which lay to the east of the Nile (P. Oxy. 1415.6 note; Calderini, *Dizionario*, s.v. Arabia, 1). It is already attested with reference to the Latopolite and Memphite nomes (Calderini, s.v. Arabia, notes 9 and 10). An abbreviation for either could have once stood in line four.

9 To the extreme right, on what may be a fragment from the succeeding *kollema*, in a finer hand, is a trace of a loop.

Translation: "(Hd. 1) 19. (Hd. 2) Roll 1 To Aurelios Apollonios, alias Dionysios, strategos of the . . . , from Aurelii Herieus, son of his mother Tathares, and Puoris, son of Horos, grain-tax-collectors-elect for the village of Tai- of Arabia in the (same nome. For) the past first (?) year . . ."

Nr. 2279 Revenue Return

P. 21407 verso

14 × 14.7 cm

Arsinoiton polis

April–August, 226 (?) A.D.

Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 2.0 cm, right 1.5 cm. The coarse papyrus is medium dark brown in color and lacks a square section from the upper right corner. Although the strokes of the script are thick and heavy, they are nonetheless fanciful and often terminate in graceful curves. A remarkably similar hand is that of P. Merton 71 (plate XIX).

This account of revenue derived from *eide* and *stephanikon* from the division of Heraklides during a four-month period is written across the verso fibers of a tax-register. It appears to be the record of at least two senators from the metropolis who were simultaneously engaged in the banking business.

Because of the exceedingly small sums derived from the levies for the crown-tax, it is possible that the document belongs to the reign of Alexander Severus who is known to have suspended extra levies which were often imposed under the guise of this tax, but who left regular collection undisturbed (Alan K. Bowman, "The Crown Tax in Roman Egypt", *BASP* 4 (1967) 59–67). However, the amounts collected for the crown-tax at various times and places differ so much from one another that it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the assessments (*ibid.*, p. 61). Moreover, this document records only a fraction of the year's income.

In the broadest sense, P. Oxy. 1659 is roughly parallel to this document in that it lists by nomes and divisions income received from the crown-tax. A. K. Bowman, "The Crown Tax in Roman Egypt", *BASP* 4 (1967) 59–67 is the most recent discussion of this impost with a list of all known receipts and accounts. To that list should be added this text as well as P. Strasb. 199.

↓	πρὸς ἀρίθμῳ ε (ἔτους)[	± 14	ἀπὸ]
	Παχὼν ἕως Μεσορ[ή]	± 17]
	Σούχον θεοῦ μεγάλ(ου) μεγάλ(ου)[	± 17]
	διὰ . . . πον ἐξηγ(ητοῦ) καὶ [	± 17]
5	Ἡρω{ω}νος κοσμ(ητοῦ) ἐπιμ[ελητῶν]
	ἔστι δέ·		
	Ἡρακλείδων μερίδος []
	εἰδῶ{ω}ν Κερκ[εσσόχων (δραχμαὶ) κη] . . []
	Μητροδώρου (δρ.) η		...
10	Πτολεμαῖδος Ἀράβ(ων) (δρ.) ιβ	εἰδῶν . α ις	
	(γίνονται) εἰδῶ{ω}ν (δρ.) μη	στεφανικ(ῶν) qβ	
	στεφανικῶν β (ἔτους)		
	Κερκεσσόχ(ων) (δρ.) ιβ		
	Μητροδώρου (δρ.) κ		
15	Πτολεμαῖδος Ἀράβ(ων) (δρ.) η'		
	Βουβάστον (δρ.) ις		
	Σεβεννῦτος (δρ.) λβ		
	Ψεναρώως (δρ.) δ		

1 ε (ἔτους): H. Maehler has pointed out that what I had first accepted as the abbreviation for ε(ἰδῶν) might better be read as (ἔτους), both here and in line 12. A tentative restoration of the lacuna might then read [εἰδῶν καὶ στεφανικ(ῶν) ἀπὸ] κτλ.

2–5 P. Princeton 133 attests to *trapezitae*—simultaneously *bouleutai* in the metropolis—receipting *aurum coronarium* to the public bank. Accordingly, in the lacuna of line two may have stood the designation of some δημοσία τράπεζα πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ] Σούχον κτλ. (A fragmentary reference to a Souchieion appears in a land-survey register from the metropolis in P. Tebt. 86.35, 2nd c. B.C.).

5 ἐπιμ[ελητῶν: I owe the successful reading of these faded traces to H. Maehler. *Epimeletai* never appear in contexts with the crown-tax; in the third century the collectors are called in all receipts and accounts *praktōres stēphanikon* (Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

10 Πτολεμαῖδος Ἀράβ(ων): See 2282.2 note.

εἰδῶν . α ις: I am at a loss how to relate this figure with the one in line eleven.

11 στεφανικ(ῶν) qβ: This is the total for the figures in lines 13–18 (for which there was no room at the base of the column?).

13 Κερκεσσόχ(ων): from demotic "grg", Coptic "gorg", meaning "foundation, establishment", and Suchos (Hagedorn-Youtie, P. Petaus, introd., pp. 26–27).

15 Ψεναρώως: On the location and name, see Hagedorn-Youtie, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

Translation: "For the account of the 5th year . . . (from) Pachon to Mesore . . . of the great, great god Suchos . . . through -pos, *exegetes*, and . . . Heron, *kosmetes*, *epimeletai* . . .

That is: from the division of Heraklides . . . for *eide*: from Kerkesucha (drachmas 28), from Metrodoru, dr. 8, from Ptolemais Arabon, dr. 12, total *eide* dr. 48, *eide* . . .

From the crown-tax of the 2nd year: from Kerkesucha, dr. 12, from Metrodoru, dr. 20, from Ptolemais Arabon, dr. 8, from Bubastos, dr. 16, from Sebennys, dr. 32, from Psenaryo, dr. 4, total *stephanika* 92."

Nr. 2280 Revenue Return (Pl. X)

P. 21484 verso + BGU 1087 VI

fg. a 14.5 × 16.4 cm

fg. b 6.8 × 4.7 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

276 A.D.

The verso sides of these two fragments continue and restore portions of the large accounts of various trade taxes paid by individuals, grouped by occupations, in the metropolis in 276 A.D. which were published as BGU 9 and 1087 and discussed by Wilcken in *Archiv* 5 (1913) 273-5, and by Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 200-202.

The larger dark brown fragment (right margin 1-2 cm) contains parts of two columns of names and sums in drachmas. One heading is preserved, that of the dyers. The smaller fragment (lower margin 2.3 cm) restores the centers of BGU 1087 VI 3-9, which were in part already supplied by Meyer because of their similarity to entries in col. II of the same document. BGU 9 IV 10, 12-14 may also be restored from these lines.

BGU 1087 recto consists of two large documents—one a contract, the other a record regarding the census—which have been glued together. It is apparent that the larger of these two fragments belongs to neither document since the script and content of the recto side are not at all related to BGU 1087 recto.

Fg. a ↓ Column I

Column II

].σιας ἐν [
]νεις ἐν τ[ῷ Καπ]ίτωνι (δραχμαὶ) [η]
]λα ἐν τ[ῷ] .νη. (δρ.) η
] ἐν τ[ῷ] Τυ(μ)πάνω (δρ.) η
 5 Ἀμου]λήτος ἐν τ[ῷ] Νε[.].μ[ε]σ[σ]αίω (δρ.) η
]ος ἐν τ[ῇ] Μύρι (δρ.) η
 ἐν τ[ῷ] Σεβήρου (δρ.) η

]ἐ[ν] τοῖς Ἀλωπωλίοις] (δρ.) η
 ἐ]ν τ[ῷ] Σεβ[ή]ρου (δρ.) η
 ----- 10 -----
]κη (δρ.) ις βαφέων
 ἐν τ[ῇ] Σ]υρακῇ (δρ.) ις Εὐδέμων ἐν τ[ῇ] Συρακῇ (δρ.) κδ
 ἐν τ[ῇ] Κοι]λάδι (δρ.) ιβ Σβ[ι].]ρος ἐν τ[ῷ] Καβίτωνος (δρ.) κδ
]τίω (δρ.) ις Διω(σ)κορίων οπουπα παρὰ Ἀλύπι(ν) (δρ.) κδ
 5 ἐν τ[ῇ] Ερμου]τιακῇ (δρ.) ις 15 Παῦλες ἐν τ[ῇ] Μύρι (δρ.) κδ
]υπο[ν] (δρ.) η Μέλας ἐν τ[ῷ] Παλαστίω (δρ.) κδ
]ου (δρ.) ις Κούκωμος ἐν τ[ῷ] Γυμ(ν)ασίω (δρ.) κδ
]ου Κοντᾶς ἐν τ[ῇ] Μύρι (δρ.) κδ

Fg. b = BGU 1087 VI 3ff. (underlined) ↓

 ζ[ντ]ωπόλαις [
Ηρακλῆς ἐν τ[ῷ] Σαπαλ[λίω]
Ερμείας ἐν τ[ῷ] Ἀκατίω]
Σουχάμων ἐν τ[ῷ] Νυφε[λίω]
 5 Σαμόνναρος ἐν τ[ῷ] Φει[λοξένου]
Κοπεῆς ἐν τ[ῷ] Θήωρο[ς]
Ηρᾶς [Σ]τεφανηπλόχοις
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) ρλς

Fg. a Column I

2 l. Συριακῇ

3 Κοι]λάδι: Here for the second time (cf. BGU 1087 III 6).

5 l. Ερμουθιακῇ, -ης

Column II

1].σιας: The first letter is definitely not upsilon.

5 Ἀμού]λητος ἐν τ[ῷ] Ν.: Identified as a perfume dealer in BGU 9 I 19. -λητος has been corrected to -λητος.

12 l. Εὐδαίμων ἐν τ[ῇ] 1. Συριακῇ: Also in BGU 9 II 10, 1087 IV 3.

13 l. Σαβίνος: Also in BGU 9 II 11.

14 l. Διοσκορίων: Probably to be identified with Diokoros in BGU 9 II 8. On the peculiar, and as yet unexplained, designation following the name, see BL I, pp. 95, 96 and Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1913) 275.

15 l. Παῦλος: Also in BGU 9 II 9.

16 l. Παλατίω

17 Κούκωμος: *addendum onomasticis* cf. BGU 255.6: Μνάς ἐπικλην Κούκκουμα; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona, 1971, p. 63.

18 Κοντᾶς: Also in BGU 9 II 17.

Fig. b

- 1 l. ζυτοπῶλαι: This reading confirms Meyer's restoration and nullifies Wilcken's (*Archiv* 5 (1913) 275).
 2 l. Σανπαλλίω
 3 l. Άκανθείω
 4 Σονχάμων: F. Dunand, "Les noms théophores en -ammon", *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 134-146 traces the appearance of such names shortly before Hadrian's reign, their popularity and gradual disappearance (with the exception of Phoibammon) in the ensuing centuries. See also W. Swinnen, "Philammon et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn", *Studia Hellenistica* 16 (1968) 237-262.
 1. Νυμφαίω, -ον
 6 l. Θέωνος, -νι
 7 l. Στεφανοπλόκ[ους]

Nr. 2281 Tax List

P. 25114

28.7 × 15.5 cm

Arsinoite

189/190 A.D.

Upper margin *ca.* 3.0 cm, left 2.0 cm. The papyrus is light brown and in places abraded. From the right has broken off a strip at least seventeen letters wide; from the bottom an uncertain amount. The hand is a large, skilled, cursive one. On the verso, written in a square clumsy hand, are remnants of daily accounts of receipts *in natura* from persons having demosiac and catocic holdings in Bacchias, Kerkesucha, Ptolemais and another town whose name is illegible. Harpokration, alias Hierax, royal secretary of the division of Heraklides, submits a village-by-village assessment for a tax whose name is lost, having derived his estimate from the records of the previous year. If the name of the tax in column III 3 were preserved, this document would be of much greater interest. In its incompleteness it adds little that is new to our knowledge of assessments in Roman Egypt.

Column I

Ηφαιστιάδος (δραχμαί) ρκβ
 Τερᾶς (δρ.) μς
 Δίννεως (δρ.) κη
 Άττινοῦ (δρ.) η
 5 Βουβάστον (δρ.) κη
 Ψενόρεως κάτω (δρ.) δ
 [Κ]ερκεσσούχ(ων) Όρους (δρ.) η
 Κερκεσσούχων (δρ.) ρλς
 [] (δρ.) .β
 10 [] .[

Column II

Φαρβαίδων [
 Πτολεμαίδος Νέας [
 Σεβεννῦτος [
 Φιλαδελ(φίας) [
 5 Νείλ(ον) πόλεως (δρ.) λ
 Ψενόρεως ἄν[ω] [
 Νέστον [
 Φιλ....[....]...
 Νάβλα (δρ.) .[
 10 [] . Αράβων [
]νοδ() [
].[
].[

Column III

παρὰ Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ καὶ Τέρακος βασιλικοῦ]
 γραμματέως Ἀρσινοίτου Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος]
 ἢ σύνοψις τελεσμάτων] τοῦ]
 [ἔνεστ]ῶτος κθ (ἔτους) Μάρκον [Ἀνρηλίον Κομμόδον]
 5 Ἀντωνίνον Καίσαρο[ς] τοῦ κυρίου]
 ἐκ τῶν τῶ προτέρῳ ἔ[τε]ι [λόγων]
 .α.[] . ἐκ τῶ[ν]

Column II

- 8 Φιλ....[: Philoxenu? cf. SPP X 15; 239. The traces do not allow a certain reading.
 10 [] . Αράβων : Between the fragmentary letter(s) in line ten of column I and the point where the lacuna ends in column II is a space of four letters. Since the trace in column I lies in the column of sums I am inclined to read there eta, instead of contorting it into a part of the town name, which is probably Ptolemais Arabōn.
 11]νοδ() : Tangent to the right corner of delta is a mark of abbreviation resembling an oversize theta.

Column III

- 1 Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ καὶ Τέρακος : His administration began in 188/9 A.D. (Mussies, *Liste des stratèges*, no. 376) and ended in 193 (Paulus, *Beamten*, no. 167).
 5 Filling out the lacuna would have stood some participle agreeing with σύνοψις and meaning "calculated" or "estimated from", e.g. συνοψισμένη, as in SPP IV, pp. 68-69, lines 332-335; p. 71, lines 432-435; P. Tebt. 82.2.
 6 ἔ[τε]ι : Only the lower tip of a vertical hasta extending a bit below the line remains following the lacuna, which would accommodate two letters with difficulty.
 7 .α.[: Preceding alpha is the upper portion of a vertical hasta which ends in a crook—perhaps phi.

Translation (col. III 1-6): "From Harpokration (alias Hierax, royal) secretary of the Arsinoite nome, (the division of Heraklides). The estimate of . . . imposts for the present 29th year of Marcus (Aurelius Commodus) Antoninus Caesar the (lord, calculated) from the (accounts) for the preceding year . . ."

Nr. 2282 Tax List

P. 21416

9.8 × 11.4 cm

Ptolemais Arabōn

229/230 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2.0 cm. The papyrus is light brown and in relatively good condition, lacking a strip from the right and from the left; however, it breaks after the ninth line and an indeterminable amount has disappeared. The hand is large, neat and skilfully written.

Two men who are candidates for the office of village secretary in Ptolemais Arabōn and other villages draw up a list of individual assessments for the grain

tax for the year 229/230. Only the heading of their list is preserved; the names and assessments have broken off. This genre of document is well-represented among published literature (see WB s. v. *ἀπαιτήσιμον*), and this example is in no way peculiar or noteworthy.

[πα]ρὰ Ἀδρηλίων Ἀρίωνος καὶ Α[... τῶν]
β- ἐν κλήρῳ κομογορ(αμματείας) Πτολεμαίδος Ἀράβων
καὶ ἄλλων κομῶν
[ἀ]παιτήσιμον κατ' ἄνδρα σιτικῶν διὰ
5 δημοσίων γεωργῶν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
θ (ἔτους) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος]
Μάρκου Ἀδρηλίου Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου]
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
ἔστι δε·

2 ἐν κλήρῳ: Cf. 2277.3-4 note.

Πτολεμαίδος Ἀράβων: References to this village are rare: BGU 487.9; P. Petaus 42.26; SB 10468.5 (?); BGU 558 III 8; 2280.10,15.

3 καὶ ἄλλων κομῶν: It was not unusual for several villages of diminutive importance to be placed under a common jurisdiction, see Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 157a.

5 δημοσίων γεωργῶν: The lists are restricted to the state farmers (A. Déléage, "Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien", *Études de Papyrologie* 2 (1934) 140.

Translation: "From Aurelii Arion and A-, (the) 2 candidates for the office of village secretary in Ptolemais Arabōn and other villages. A man-by-man assessment of grain-imposts to be paid by state farmers for the present 9th year of our lord Emperor (Caesar) Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, viz . . ."

Nr. 2283 Tax Receipt

P. 21477
9.1 × 10.4 cm

Philadelphia
June-August, 157 A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 1 cm. The fragmentary papyrus is light brown and coarse-textured. Two entries separated by a space of 3.8 cm are written in a small and clumsy upright script.

Dioskus, son of Phasis, pays on behalf of Dinnys installments on the one-bundle-of-hay- and beer-taxes. Payments for these two taxes are often recorded on the same receipts, e.g. P. Amh. 121; P. Straßb. 61; SB 7166.

[...]
[? ἐπὶ λό]γον δραχμὰς τέσσαρ[ας
[δραχμὰς τέσσαρας].
[± 10]... κόμης Φιλαδ(ελφίας) ὑ(πέρ) μονοδεσμίας
5 [χόρτ(ον) ± 8] .ν ὑ(πέρ) εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
[τοῦ κυρίου διέ]γραψε Διοσκοῦς Φάσιτος ἐπὶ λόγον [δ] ὑ(πέρ) Δίννεος
[δραχμὰς ὀκτώ] . . (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η, Ποίνει ιζ- ὑ(πέρ) κατ' ἄνδ(ρα)
δραχμ(ας)
[τέσσαρας] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ, Μεσωρή κβ- ὑ(πέρ) κατ' ἄνδρα ζ[υ]τηρᾶς
[δραχμὰς] τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ, (m. 2) ὁμοίως τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός
10 [± 10] .α [δρ]αχμὰς τέσσερος (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ

4 One expects in the lacuna and following something like [διὰ πρεσβυτέρων]; however, the traces of the word preceding κόμης do not support such a restoration.

1. μονοδεσμίας

5] .ν: After χόρτ(ον) usually appears καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν. Save for a small dot of ink, the letter before nu has all but disappeared, and so I hesitate restoring omega or any other letter.

1. Δίννεος: The personal name (not to be confused with the town) is attested several times in P. Petrie.

7 1. Παῦνι ιζ- = June 11.

1. κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) <ζυτηρᾶς> δραχμ(ας): κατ' ἄνδρα appears regularly in this context: P. Fay. 47a.5 note (read there in 1.8: ἀπάτ[ορο]ς); Evans, "A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple", *YCS* 17 (1961) 230.

8. 1. Μεσωρή κβ- = August 15.

10 1. τέσσαρας

Translation (lines 4-10): "(Through the elders?) of the village of Philadelphia for the one-bundle-of-hay-tax (and other things?) for the twentieth year of Antoninus Caesar (the lord), Dioskus, son of Phasis, has paid on account in behalf of Dinnys (eight drachmas) total 8 dr.; Payni 17 (for the beer-tax) assessed individually (four) drachmas, total 4 dr.; Mesore 22, for the beer-tax assessed individually four (drachmas), total 4 dr.; (Hd. 2) similarly for the same month . . . four drachmas, total 4 dr."

Nr. 2284 Tax Receipt

P. 21896 verso
14.5 × 16.3 cm

Fayum
183/184 A.D.

Upper margin 1.5-1 cm, lower 10 cm, left 7.5 cm. To the right the light brown papyrus has broken off. The hand is vertical and practiced. On the recto is 2363.

Ptolemaios, son of Hera-, pays through the village elders twelve drachmas on the one-bundle-of-hay-tax.

διέγρ(αψε) Πτ[ολεμ]αῖος Ἡρα[
ὕπερ μονο[δ]ε[σ]μ(ίας)] χόρτον καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν
τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) Α[δ]ρηλ[ί]ου Κομμ[ό]δου Ἀντωνίνου]
Σεβαστοῦ διὰ πρεσ(βυτέρων) κ(ώμης) . .[

5 (δραχμαὶ) ιβ

Translation: "Ptolemaios, son of Hera-, paid for the one-bundle-of-hay-tax (and other things) for the 24th year of Aurelius Commodus (Antoninus) Augustus, through the elders of the village of . . . 12 dr."

Nr. 2285 Tax Receipt (Pl. X)

P. 21410
8 × 5.3 cm

Fayum
194/195 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.7 cm, lower 1 cm. Folded twice vertically. The papyrus is light brown and apart from small holes, which do not disrupt the text, and the left fold, which has broken off, in a good state of preservation. The hand is a crude cursive one.

-nuphis, son of Horos, a cleruchic farmer, makes various payments on the one-bundle-of-hay-tax. The main interest of the receipt lies in its mention of the second year of Pescennius Niger, who ruled less than eleven months.

[ἔτους δευτέ]ρον Γαίου Πεσκεννίου

[Νίγερως] Τ[ο]ύ[σ]τ[ο]υ Σεβαστοῦ Μεχ(εῖρ) ια⁻

[διέγρ(αφεν) . . .] νοῦφει(ς) Ὀρον γεωργ(ός) γς

[κλήρον . . .] ον ὕ(περ) μονοδεσ(μίας) χόρτον

5 [τοῦ ± 6] ἔτους ἐπὶ λόγ(ο)ν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) τέσ-

[σαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ (m. 2) . .] . 5⁻ ὀβολοὺς εἴκοσι ὀκτώ

[(γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) κη (m. 1) . . .] δ[β]ολ(οὺς) εἴκοσι ὀκτώ (γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) κη

[. . . δραχμαὶ] τέσσαρες (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ⁻ (m. 3) καὶ γς||

[± 9] . 5|| ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) τέσσαρες (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ

1 δευτέ]ρον: The second year of Pescennius' short-lived ascendancy is but rarely documented: P. Grenf. II 60; P. Oxy. 719, 801.

2 Μεχ(εῖρ) ια⁻: February 5, 194.

3 γεωργ(ός) γς: In P. Amh. 121.6a γεωργός ις κληρ(ουχίας) pays the same impost. The S-shaped curve following gamma here and in l. 8, 9, according to H. Youtie (letter, June 4, 1973) is simply a part of the numeral.

4 In the lacuna may have stood the town—but not necessarily; no town is given in P. Amh. 121.

6 In the lacunae here and in l. 7 probably stood the date. Also possible would be a different impost, but the spaces would scarcely accommodate καὶ ὕ(περ) ζυτ(ηρᾶς) αὐτ(ῶν) σίμ.

Although some of the letter forms in this line are similar to those of other lines, the hand seems to be a different one and heavier than that which wrote the succeeding and preceding entries.

8 τέσσαρες: This is a good *koine* plural accusative form (P. Mich. 582 II 9 note).

Translation: "(The second year) of Gaius Pescennius (Niger Justus) Augustus, Mecheir 11. -nuphis, son of Horos, a farmer of the 3rd (kleros) of . . . , (paid) on account for the one-bundle-of-hay-tax for the -th year four silver drachmas, (total 4 dr.); (Hd. 2) (month?) 6th, twenty-eight obols (total 28 ob.; (Hd. 1) month, day?) twenty-eight obols, total 28 ob.; (month, day?) four (drachmas), total 4 dr. And the 3rd . . . four silver dr., total 4 dr."

Nr. 2286 Tax Receipt (Pl. XI)

P. 21496
8.6 × 6.2 cm

after 212 A.D.

Recto: upper margin 0.5 cm, left 0.8 cm, lower 3.5 cm. Verso: upper margin 0.5 cm, right 0.5 cm, lower 4.7 cm. About one-third of this light brown papyrus has broken off from the side, and the remaining portion displays several large worm holes.

The sole interest of this document is paleographic. On the verso, written in a practiced, yet careful and clear hand, is a formula for the beer-tax receipt: everything is specified except the name of the tax-payer whose name is designated as Aurelios so-and-so, son of so-and-so. On the recto is then written after this model a tax receipt in a large and clumsy script. One word is misspelled (l. 3), but this βράδεως γράφων was not entirely lacking in native ingenuity. Instead of adhering to the model he abbreviates the verb differently, abbreviates ἄλλων (which was written in the model in full), and uses the symbol for drachmas instead of the abbreviation appearing in the model.

An approximate parallel to this model receipt was published by J. Schwartz, "Un formulaire de nomographe", *JJP* 4 (1950) 209-214. See also BGU 88b and P. Mich. 122.

recto → ἔτους δ' [Φαῶφι η]
διέγ[ρ](αφεν) Αἰρη[λί]ω ± 5]
πρεβ(υτέρω) ὕ(περ) ζυτ(ηρᾶς) [καὶ]
ἄλ(λων) εἰδῶν το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ]
5 ἔτους Α[δ]ρηλ(ίως)]
(δραχμαὶ) τέσσα[ρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ]

verso ↓ (m. 2) [ἐτους δ' Φα]ῶφι η· δι[έ]γραψ(εν) Αὐρηλ(ίω)
 [± 8] πρεσ[β(υτέρω)] ὁ(πέρ) ζ[υ]τ(ηρᾶς)
 [καὶ ἄλλων] εἰδῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 [ἐτους Αὐρ]ήλ(ιός) τίς τινος δραχ(μὰς)
 5 [τέσσαρας] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ

recto

3 l. πρεσβ(υτέρω) i.e. τῆς κώμης: see Tomsin, *Études sur les Presbyteroi*, p. 492 fin.

Translation, recto: "Year 4 (Phaophi 8). To Aurelios, son of N.N., an elder, (Aurelios, son of N.N.), has paid for the beer-tax (and) other things (for the same) year four drachmas, (total 4 dr.)."

Verso: "(Year 4) Phaophi 8. To Aurelios, (son of N.N.), an elder, Aurelios so-and-so, son of so-and-so, has paid for the beer-tax for the same (year four) drachmas, total 4 dr."

Nr. 2287 Tax Receipt

P. 25139
 16 × 17.2 cm

Karanis
 January 4, 162 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 6 cm, lower *ca.* 3 cm. Folded five times vertically. The light brown papyrus is damaged throughout by larger and smaller worm holes. The hand is a rough, irregular cursive. Separated by a space of 2 cm above the following text are traces of five lines of what appears to be a tax account in a different hand.

Papos, son of Aphrodisios, pays to Isidoros, a tax official in charge of confiscated property, thirteen drachmas and 1½ obols in arrears on the *geometria*. According to Meyer, *Griechische Texte*, p. 15 n. 32, these officials individually supervised the income from estates whose owners owed the government money until the debts had been paid. For further discussion and bibliography, see R. Taubenschlag, "Τενηματογραφία in Greco-Roman Egypt", *Opera minora* II, Warsaw, 1959, pp. 695-701.

ἐτους β [Α]ν[τ]ωνίν[ο]ν καὶ Οδηρ[ο]ν τῶν
 κυρίων [Σε]βαστῶν Τῦβι η· [δι]έγραψ(εν) Ἰσιδώρῳ
 καὶ [μ]ετόχοις ἐπιτηρη(ηταῖς) γενη(ματογραφουμένων) ὑπαρ[χ]όντων διο[ι]-
 (κήσεως)

Πάπος Ἀφροδισίου γεομ(ετρίας) πρώτ[ο]ν ἐτον(ς) (δραχμὰς) δεκα-
 10 τρεῖς (δβολόν) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἑν (δβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον) π[.]...
 (δβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον)

7 Ἰσιδώρῳ: He also appears in BGU 851.4; SB 9427 (Karanis, 162 A.D.).

9 l. γεωμ(ετρίας)

10 l. -τρεῖς

π[.]. . . . One would like to read here *προσόδου*, but the few remaining traces are too ambiguous, and the amount of 1½ obols is not 6¼% of thirteen drachmas. A miscalculation is not out of the question. See Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 72; Johnson *et al.*, P. Ryl. 213 introd. and l. 45 note.

Translation: "Year 2 of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti, Tybi 8. Papos, son of Aphrodisios, has paid to Isidoros and his associates, overseers of sequestrated property under the *dioikesis*, for the *geometria* of the first year, thirteen drachmas and 1½ obols, totals 13 dr. 1½ ob. . . . 1½ ob."

Nr. 2288 Tax Receipt

P. 25125
 9.2 × 7.7 cm

Apias
 March 23, 172 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 1.5 cm, lower 3.2 cm. Folded twice vertically. The light brown papyrus has been badly chewed by worms; however, apart from a few places, it is possible to reconstruct the sense of the text. The hand is a small and swift cursive one.

A certain Pasion, son of Syros, pays to Ision and company, tax collectors in Apias, the amount of twenty-four drachmas for "the price of doors". As far as I can ascertain, only three other receipts for this tax have ever been published: SB 5102; P. Hamb. 83; SPP XXII 128. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 164, gives them summary treatment.

(ἐτους) ιβ Φαμενώθ κζ-
 διέγραψ(εν) Ἰσιῶνι [καὶ] μετόχ(οις)
 πράκ(τορσι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) κώ(μης) Ἀπιάδος
 Πασί[ων] Σύρον ὁ(πέρ) τιμῆς
 5 [θ]υρῶν καὶ προσδ(ιαγραφουμένων) ια (ἐτους)
 δραχμὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρες
 καὶ κολ(ύβον) δ καὶ ναυβ(ίον) ια (ἐτους)

1 (ἐτους) ιβ: 171/2 A.D. In SPP XXII 112, 113 dated to the thirty-second year (191/2 A.D.), Ision is still in office.

6 τέσσαρες: This is a good *koine* accusative plural form (P. Mich. 582 II 9 note).

7 Part of the abbreviation for *kollybos* is a long horizontal stroke which develops into the delta, the symbol for drachmas evidently being omitted by oversight.

ναυβ(ίον): In all three parallel receipts one amount is paid *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς θυρῶν καὶ ναυβίου*. Here it seems the scribe forgot the *naubion* and added it onto the end. But since there is a lacuna under καὶ in l. 7 which is about three letters wide, it is not out of the question that an amount for the *naubion* once stood here.

Translation: "Year 12, Phamenoth 27. Pasion, son of Syros, has paid to Ision (and) colleagues, tax-collectors of the village of Apias, for the price of doors and the additional charges for the 11th year, twenty-four drachmas, and for the exchange 4 (drachmas) and for the *naubion* of the 11th year."

Nr. 2289 Tax Receipt

P. 21472

12.4 × 10.8 cm

Ptolemais Nea?

192/193 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.9 cm, left 2.4 cm, lower 4.2 cm. The papyrus is light brown and lacks its right half. The script is large yet facile.

Sempronia pays to the money tax-collectors a total of forty-four drachmas on the taxes called *geometria* and *telesma paradeisu*.

Parallel receipts include P.Fay. 55; SPP XXII 132, 134; BGU 779; 2290; O. Wilbour 35-39; O. Tait 874ff.

Concerning the levies here receipted see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 47-53, 64.

ἔτους λγ- Λουκίου[ν Αἰλίου]

Ἀδρηλίου Κομ[μύδου]

Καίσαρος τοῦ κυ[ρίου]]

κδ- διέγραψε) Ὀρί[ωνι καὶ μετόχοις]

5 πράκ(τορσι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) κώ(μης) Πτολ[ε(μαίδος) Νέας?]

Σεμπρωνία Ν[τελ(έσματος)]

παρὰδ(είσου) λα (ἔτους) καὶ γε[ωμετρίας]

δρα(χμὰς) τεσσαρά[κ]οντα [τέσσα-]

ρες (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ

4 Ὀρί[ωνι]: Perhaps identifiable with the Horion in BGU 62.6 (199 A.D., Ptolemais Nea) who acts as aide to the money tax-collectors.

Translation: "Year 32 of Lucius (Aelius) Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord, (month) 24. Sempronia, daughter of N-, has paid to Horion (and his associates) money tax-collectors of the village of Ptolemais (Nea?) (for the tax) on garden land for the 31st year, and for the (survey-tax) forty-four drachmas, total 44 dr."

Nr. 2290 Tax Receipt

P. 21909

21.6 × 8 cm

Bacchias

December, 203 A.D.

Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1 cm, lower 13.5 cm. The medium dark brown papyrus is in a good state of preservation. The hand is clumsy but experienced.

To the tax-collectors of Bacchias, Longinia Thermutharion pays separate amounts on the taxes called *geometria* and *telesma ampeli* for two different years. See 2289 introd. for parallels and literature.

ἔτους ιβ- Λουκίου Σετιμ[ί]ου Σερ() Ε[ϛ-]

σεβ(ούς) Περτίνακας καὶ Μάρκον

Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντων(ίνου) Σεβαστῶν

καὶ Πελίου Σεπτιμίου Γέ[τα Καίσαρος]

5 Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀδριανοῦ ἱ[.]· διέγ(ραφεν)

Ὀρεφι καὶ μετόχ(οις) πράκ(τορσι) ἀργ(υρικῶν)

κώ(μης) Βακχ[ί]α[δο]ς Λογγ[ί]α

Θερμονθάριον τε(λέσματος) ἀμ(πέλου) ἐνδεκ(άτου)

ἔτους δραχμὰς δέκα (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ι

10 γεωμετρίας το[ῦ] αὐ[τοῦ] ἔτο[υς]

δραχμ[ὰς] δώδ(εκα) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ

verso →

(m. 2) ...[].. Βακχιάδος

traces

1 l. Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου

2 l. Περτίνακος

3 l. Σεβαστῶν

4 l. Πουβλίου

6 Ὀρεφι: a variant of Ὀρεφίς.

7-8 Λογγ[ί]α Θερμονθάριον: She also appears in BGU 558 III 15 and 614.5.

8 τε(λέσματος) ἀμ(πέλου): The significance of this impost remains obscure; see P.Ryl. 213. 154 note; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 64.

10 l. γεωμετρίας

το[ῦ] αὐ[τοῦ] ἔτο[υς]: the eleventh year, not the twelfth.

Translation: "The 12th year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta (Caesar) Augustus, Hadrianos 1-th. Longinia Thermutharion has paid to Orephis and associates, tax-collectors of the village of Bacchias, for the vineyard-tax of the eleventh year, ten drachmas, total 10 dr.; for the survey-tax of the same year, (twelve) drachmas, total 12 dr."

Nr. 2291 Tax Receipt (Pl. XI)

P. 21920

14.6 × 8.7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

6/5 or 5/4 B.C.

Verso blank. Upper margin 3.5-4 cm, left 1 cm. The papyrus is light brown and has suffered the loss of a line or two from the bottom. To the right a second strip of papyrus is glued onto the verso. Only in l. 4 does the writing run onto it. Two equally crude scripts record the entries—the first one with a brown ink (except in l. 12-16).

Herieus, son of Paubastis, pays to Peutas, the *cheiristes*, in monthly installments the *syntaximon*. As in other receipts for this tax, the sums are all in multiples of four drachmas, occasionally with obols added, to total forty-four

drachmas and six chalki for the eleven months. Since the payments for two months are lost in this receipt it is impossible to determine whether this figure was arrived at—inconsistencies are not unknown (Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 122ff.). Parallels are listed in P. Giss. 94 introd.

- ἐτ(ους) κε Καίσαρος Ἀθὺρ κ⁻
 διαγεγρ(άφηκε) Πεντάτι χει(ριστῆ)
 Ἐριεύς Πανβάστεω[ς]
 συνταξ. - Σοκρ[.]. Νή(σον) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δρ.) δ[
 5 (m.2) Χοίακ λ (δρ.) τέσσ.) τυβ^λ (γίν.) (δρ.) δ (τριώβολον)
 (m.1) Τῶβι Σεβ(αστῆ) (δρ.) τέσσ.) (γίν.) (δρ.) δ
 Μεχειρ κα⁻ (δρ.) τέσσ.) τε.^β (γίν.) (δρ.) δ (τριώβ.)
 (m.2) Φαμενὼ(θ) κς⁻ (δρ.) τέσσ(αρας) (γίν.) (δρ.) δ
 Φαρμουθι κδ⁻ (δρ.) τέσσ(αρας) (γίν.) (δρ.) δ
 10 Παχὼν ιδ⁻ (δρ.) τέσσ(αρας) (γίν.) (δρ.) δ
 ἀλικῆς (τετρώβολον)
 (m.1) Παῦνι δ⁻ [(δρ.) δ] κτὼ (γίν.) (δρ.) η καθ.
 [Ἐπεὶ] φ κ⁻ [
 [Μεσορή]] ερανην[
 15 [] traces [

1 ἐτ(ους) κε: or κς

2 Πεντάτι: The name appears in Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka* 1484 and P. Berol. 21897 (unpublished) and 2340.1.

χει(ριστῆ): The abbreviation appears like χε^λ. Since, however, a *cheiristes* collects the payments in five documents already (P. Giss. 94; P. Lond. 181; P. Tebt. 349, 473; 2292), it seems most judicious to resolve the abbreviation as I have.

4 The usual formula runs *συνταξιμον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους* followed by the village name.

5 λ⁻: Under the lambda are traces of an expunged kappa and another letter.

τυβλ: or γ δβ(ο)λ(ός)? This and the row of letters or symbols in l. 7 must both refer to the triobols appearing in the final sum, but I am at a loss for a convincing explanation as to how.

6 Τῶβι Σεβ(αστῆ): Tybi 24, in commemoration of Augustus' birthday, according to F. Blumenthal, "Der ägyptische Kaiserkult", *Archiv* 5 (1913) 343. On *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* in general, see the bibliography cited by P. Sijpesteijn in P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI, p. 92 n. 12.

11 ἀλικῆς: This tax, known in Roman times from the Arsinoite nome only, is discussed by Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 122ff., 184.

13 Whatever was written in l. 12 must have continued into line 13, thus displacing the subsequent date to the right.

14]εραν: or ερον.

Translation: "Year 25 of Caesar, Hathyr 20. Herieus, son of Paubastis, has paid to Peutas, the *cheiristes*, on the *syntaximon* for Soknopaiu Nesos, four drachmas, total 4 dr., etc."

Nr. 2292 Tax Receipt

P. 25144

10.7 × 15 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

81/82 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin *ca.* 1.5 cm, left 2.5 cm, lower 4.7 cm. The light brown, fine-textured papyrus has suffered the loss of its lower left hand corner as well as a small strip from the right. The hand is quite similar to P. Mich. 382 II recto (pl. III).

Orsephis, son of Harsiesis, pays several monthly installments on the *syntaximon* to Alkimos, *cheiristes* of Soknopaiu Nesos.

ἔτους πρώτον Ἀδοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομτιανοῦ

Σεβαστ(οῦ) μ(ηρὸς) Νέο(υ) Σεβαστ(οῦ) λ μ(ετὰ λόγον) ι⁻ δι(έγραψε) Ἀλκίμ(ω)
 χει(ριστῆ) Ὀρσεφίς

Ἀρσιήσιο(ς) τ(οῦ) Ὀρσεφί(ος) μ(ητρός) Ταγεφρ() συνταξί(μον) Σοκνο(παίου)
 Ν(ήσου)

πρώτον (ἔτους) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δεκαῆξ (γίνονται) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ις,
 Μεχειρ [ἀργ(υρίου)]

5 (δραχμὰς) δκτώ [(γίν.) ἀργ(υρ.) (δρ.) η], Φαμενὼ(θ) ἀργ(υρ.) (δρ.) δκτὼ (γίν.)
 (δρ.) η, [

[ἀργ(υρ.) (δρ.) [δ]εκαδύο χ(αλκοῦς) β (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ
 χ(αλκοῦ) [β

2 μ(ετὰ λόγον): On this phrase, see 2294.7 note.

Ὀρσεφίς: *addendum onomasticis*; cf. 2290.6: Ὀρσεφί.

1. χει(ριστῆ)

5 l. δκτὼ

Translation: "The first year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus in the month of Neos Sebastos 10, after the accounting on the 30th. Orsephis, son of Harsiesis, grandson of Orsephis, the mother being Tanephre, paid to Alkimos, *cheiristes*, for the *syntaximon* at Soknopaiu Nesos for the same year, sixteen silver drachmas, total 16 silver drachmas, etc."

Nr. 2293 Tax Receipt

P. 21450

8.5 × 7.3 cm

Alexandru Nesos

October 17, 147-155 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, left 1 cm, lower 1.7 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and coarse. It was probably folded three times vertically. Apart from minor breaks and abrasions it is complete.

Païos, son of Onesimos, pays the sales tax on a calf he bought at Alexandru Nesos from Patonis, son of Sansneus, from the village of Muchis, for one hundred drachmas.

This text along with 2275 confirms the existence of an impost called the *epistateia*-and-10% (sales-tax), heretofore once attested in P. Lond. II 305.2 (p. 79). Upon consulting a photograph of that document supplied by the

British Library, it is apparent that the text as read by Grenfell and Hunt in P.Tebt. 350 introd. must be changed to read (l. 2) *ἐπιστα(ε)ίας* and not *ἐκ(σ)τάσ(ε)ως*. However, little else can be said regarding these fees. P.Lond. 1107 (discussed by Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 261-2) records income from the *epistateia*-and-20%-tax collected by various customs stations, but the affinities between that impost and this one are obscure, if there are any whatsoever. P.Fay. 62; P.Lond. 305 offer parallel examples of such sales-tax receipts; 2275 preserves two five-day returns from officials responsible for collecting this tax. Wallace, *op.cit.*, p. 226, discusses P.Lond. 305 as read by Grenfell and Hunt. The other mention in that book (p. 317) should be consigned to the section of the chapter dealing with the Arsinoite nome—not Alexandria.

ἔτους . . . τον καὶ δεκ(άτου)

Ἀντωνεῖν[ο]ν Καίσαρ[ος]

τοῦ κυ[ρ]ίου Φ[α]ῶφι κ.

διέγρ(αφεν) Ἀγαθὸς Δ . . . ι . ιω .

5 εἰς ἀ(ρίθμησιν) ἐπιστ(ατείας) καὶ δεκ(άτης)

ἀγορ(ᾶς) κώ(μης) Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου]

Νήσου Πάιος Ὀνησί-

μου τέλ(ος) μόσχου ἡγο(ράκοτος)

παρὰ Πατώνης Σαν-

10 σνέως ἀπὸ [κώ](μης) Μού-

χεως τι(μῆς) (δραχμῶν) ρ

4 l. Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (?)

5 ἐπιστ(ατείας) καὶ δεκ(άτης): This impost is known from two other documents: P.Lond. II 305.2 (p. 79) = P.Tebt. 350 introd. and 2275.

9 l. Πατώνεως: cf. SB I 4621.2: Πετώνης

Translation: "Year 1— of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 20. Paios, son of Onesimos, has paid to Agathos Daimon (?) into the account for the *epistateia*-and-ten-per-cent tax of the market in the village of Alexandru Nesos, the impost for a calf bought from Patonis, son of Sansneus, from the village of Muchis, for the price of 100 drachmas."

Nr. 2294 Tax Receipt

P. 21451

11 × 5.3 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

81-96 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, lower 4 cm. The light brown papyrus was folded twice vertically, and the left fold has since broken off. What remains is marred by only an occasional small break. The hand is small, neat and rapid. Harpagathes pays over a period of eleven months installments on the weavers' tax. The impost receives thorough discussion in Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 193 ff., and parallels are listed on p. 436, n. 24; see also O. Tait 1010-1035.

[Ἀ]ρπαγάθ(η) χαίρ(ε)ν ἔχω(ι)

[παρά σου ὑπὲρ χειρωνα]ξίου γερδ(ίων) Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσου

[(ἔτους) . . . Ἀυτοκράτορος Καί]σαρος Δομιτιανοῦ

[Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι ἁ]ργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ(ι) (γίνονται) (δρ.) η,

5 [Ἀθύρ ? ὀκτώ]ι, μην . . . Χοιάχ

[λ⁻ μετὰ λ(όγον) . (δρ.) . . . (γίν.) (δρ.) ., μην(νός) Τῦβι λ μετὰ λ(όγον) .] (δρ.)

ὀκτώ(ι) (γίν.) (δρ.) η, μην(νός) Μεχείρ

[λ⁻ μετὰ λ(όγον) . (δρ.) . . . (γίν.) (δρ.) ., μην(νός) Φαμ]ενώθ λ⁻ μετὰ λ(όγον)

α⁻ (δρ.) τέσ[σ]αρα(ς)

[(γίν.) (δρ.) δ, μηνός Φαρμουῦθι λ] μετὰ λ(όγον) θ⁻ (δρ.) ὀκτώ(ι) (γίν.) (δρ.) η,

[μηνός Παχών λ⁻ μετὰ λ(όγον) . (δρ.) ὀκτώ(ι) (γίν.) (δρ.) η, μην(νός) Παῦνι λ⁻

10 [μετὰ λ(όγον) . (δρ.) . . . (γίν.) (δρ.) ., μην(νός) Κα]ισαρείου λ⁻ μετὰ λ(όγον) γ⁻

[(δρ.) . . . κτλ.]

1 In the lacuna may have stood besides the tax collector's name his title in abbreviation, e.g. *τελ(ώνης) γερδ(ίων)*, and *δεῖνι Ἀ]ρπαγάθ(ου)*.

2 *γερδ(ίων)*: Instead of *γερδ(ιακοῦ)*, I have resolved the abbreviation so, for the reasons given in O. Tait 1012.1 note: the word is written in full in O. Tait 1018, and one has the examples of other taxes, e.g. *τέλος λινύφων*.

4 [Σεβαστοῦ]: or [τοῦ κυρίου]

5 *μην . . .*: The first three letters are written large and clear; however, what follows is a tiny cramped series of zigzags. In the end, one should probably understand *μηνός*.

6 ff. All restorations are *exempli gratia*.

7 *μετὰ λ(όγον)*: This phrase, appearing in P.Fay. 53, 54, 316; PSI 1133; P.Alex. 15, is explained by V. Schuman, "Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt", *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 310-314. According to his interpretation, as applied to this text, Harpagathes paid (l. 7) four drachmas to a tax collector on Phamenoth 1 and received from him a collector's receipt which he then should have exchanged at the bank for an official receipt. In this instance he waited until after the accounting on the thirtieth of Phamenoth.

Translation: "N.N. to Harpagathes, greetings. I have received (from you for the) weavers' (tax) in Soknopaiu Nesos, (for the -th year of Emperor) Caesar Domitianus . . . (Phaophi) eight silver drachmas, total 8 dr.; (Hathyr) . . . the month of Choiak (-th, after the accounting on the 30th) . . . dr., total . . . dr.; for the month of Tybi 30th, etc."

Nr. 2295 Tax Receipt

P. 21488

5.5 × 6 cm

Tebtynis

157/158 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.8 cm. The light brown papyrus is broken off to the left and from the bottom. The hand is a small irregular cursive.

Sotas, a wool carder in Tebtynis, pays to a collegium of tax collectors, for the tax on the sale of wool-cardings, twenty drachmas in arrears for 156/7 A.D. This tax is probably the same one recorded twice in the Karanis tax-rolls; however, the present text is the first such known receipt.

- [ἔτους κα]' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 [Τίτου Αἰ]λίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου
 [Σεβαστο]ῦ Εὐσεβοῦς· διέγ[ραψε] Σαραπίων(ι)
 [καὶ μετ]όχοις παρακιμένους
 5 [ἐπιτηρητ]αῖς ὠνῆς ἐριοκαρτ(ίας) Σώτας
 []τος ἐριοκάρτης Τεπτόνεω(ς)
 [ὕπερ το]ῦ διεληλυθότος κ (ἔτους)
 [ἀργυρίου] δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτώ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η-
 [καὶ ὑπ]έρ τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ] κ- (ἔτους)
 10 [] ἀ[ργυρίου] δ[ραχμὰς] . . δ]εκα

- 4 1. παρακειμένοις: I find no attested usage of the word in this context in papyri. I am furthermore uncertain as to how much weight should be given to its appearance: whether it has a liturgical significance or not, perhaps in contradistinction to officials ἐν κλήρῳ.
 5 [ἐπιτηρητ]αῖς: I owe the restoration of this lacuna to N. Lewis; see e.g. P. Merton 70.7 note.
 ἐριοκαρτ(ίας): *addendum lexicis*. N. Lewis suggested the resolution (letter, January 5, 1974).
 6 ἐριοκάρτης: The word appears in P. Flor. 71.159, 438; P. Mich. 223.3255; 224.1488. Ewa Wipszycka, "L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine", *Archivum filologiczne* 9 (1965) 30ff., discusses the derivation and meaning of the word. According to her, these men had the task of shearing off any long strands of wool after the material had been fulled.
 10 . . δ]εκα: In P. Mich. 223.3255; 224.1439, 1488 (Karanis, 171-173 A.D.) wool carders and a wool merchant pay taxes of twelve drachmas plus surcharges. So one might want to restore here δώδ]εκα.

Translation: "(Year 21) of Emperor Caesar (Titus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus (Augustus) Pius. Sotas, son of N.N., wool carder of Tebtynis, has paid to Sarapion (and) present associates, (inspectors) of the sale of wool cardings for the past 20th year eight (silver) drachmas, total 8 dr.; (and for) the same 20th year (twelve ?) silver (drachmas)."

Nr. 2296 Tax Receipt (Pl. XII)

P. 21927
 15.2 × 14 cm

339 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.3 cm, left 4 cm, lower 7.8 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and relatively undamaged. It was folded three times vertically, and the rightmost fold is missing. The main hand is upright, the letters clearly written with few unnecessary strokes.

Aurelia Thermutharion and her brother Aurelios Muses pay their wine taxes *in natura* for the year 339 A.D. The same two appear in PSI 820—a series of

receipts on several papyri dating 312-314 A.D., all recording payments exclusively by Thermutharion and Muses. This papyrus dates twenty-five years later and so is not a missing fragment but rather a supplement to that series. For further discussion see Vitelli, PSI 820 introd. and notes. Similar receipts include P. Ant. 108; SPP XX 91; P. Lips. 88.

- Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Ἀρποκρατίων καὶ Φίλιππος e.g. ἐπιμεληταὶ]
 οἶνον ἐπὶ τ[ό]πων []
 Αὐρ(ήλιοις) Θερμουθαρίῳ καὶ Μουσῇ [τέκ(νοις) Εὐλογίας χαίρ(ειν).]
 παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σον ὑπὲρ δωδ[εκάτης] ἰνδικτίονος]
 5 οἶνον (ξέστας) Ἰταλικ(όν)ς) τεσσαεράκοντα τρεῖς (γίνονται) (ξέσται) μγ]
 Φίλιππος (m. 2) σεσ(ημείωμαι) (m. 3) Ἀρπ[οκρατίων] σεσ(ημείωμαι)]
 (m. 1) ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶ(ν) Κ[ωνσταντίου] τὸ β-]
 καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ α- Α[ὐ]γούστῳν []

- 1 [ἐπιμεληταί]: These officials receipt wine payments in PSI 820; P. Ant. 108; ὑποδέκται in P. Lips. 88; SPP XX 91. On their positions and functions, see Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, pp. 212-216.
 2 ἐπὶ τ[ό]πων: Cf. SPP XX 91.1-2: ὑποδέκται οἶνον ἐπὶ τόπων; and BGU 2144.2; 2145.2 *et al.*
 3 For the restoration cf. PSI 820.23 *et passim*, where the same Thermutharion and Muses pay imposts of wine *in natura*.
 4 1. παρελάβομεν παρ' ὑμῶν

Translation: "Aurelioi Harpokration and (Philippos, local wine-overseers), to Aurelioi Thermutharion and Muses, (children of Eulogia, greetings). We have received from you for the twelfth (indiction), forty three Italian *xestas* of wine, (total 43 *xestas*). (Hd. 2) I, Philippos, have signed it. (Hd. 3) I, Harpokration (have signed it). (Hd. 1) In the consulate of our lords (Contantius, the 2nd time), and Constans, the 1st time, Augusti, (month, day)."

Nr. 2297 Receipt for Transport Dues

P. 21577
 14.9 × 8.7 cm

Bacchias-Hephaistias
 August 29, 168 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm, left 2 cm, lower 7.5 cm. Folded three times vertically. Except for the right side which has mostly broken off, the light brown papyrus is well-preserved.

Someone whose name is lost pays five drachmas to the money tax-collectors of Bacchias and Hephaistias, for the cost of having his grain transported from the granary to the harbor. Judging from the few parallel documents, payments in

money seem to have been about as frequent as payments in kind (P. Tebt. 364 introd.). As collectors of the fees *in natura* appear sitologoi (P. Tebt. 365); of money payments, presbyteroi (P. Tebt. 364) and praktores (P. Tebt. 615). For further discussion see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 42-44.

ἔτους ἐνάτου Ἀγτ[ωνίου]
καὶ Οὐδίου τῶν κυρίων
Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμενι[ακῶν]
Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν]

- 5 Μεγίστων, Θωθ α· [διέγραψεν]
Τεμούθη καὶ μετόχ[οις] πράκτο[ρσι] ἀργυρικών]
Βα(κ)χι(άδος) Ἡφαιστ(ιάδος) Αλ[± 10]
ροῦτ(ος) φορέτ(ου) . . δραχμάς]
πέντε (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ε

8 Following φορέτ(ου) are traces of two letters, the first of which could be either omicron or delta. The single diagonal vertical of the second letter is too ambiguous to be identified. One thinks of δη(μοσίον), but I am unable to say with conviction that the abbreviation should be read here.

Translation: "The ninth year of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti Armeniaci Medici Parthici Maximi, Thoth 1. (Paid) to Iemuthes and his partners (the money tax-collectors) of Bacchias and Hephaistias, by A-, son of -nus, for freight . . . , five (drachmas) total 5 dr."

Nr. 2298 Receipt for Rent (Pl. XII)

P. 21403
15.3 × 10.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
April-May, 208 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.8 cm, left 2.5 cm, lower 2 cm. The papyrus is light brown and reasonably well-preserved. Minor breaks and abraded areas occasionally interrupt the otherwise complete text. From a photograph of P. Bouriant 29, kindly supplied by J. Scherer, it is apparent that the hands of both documents are identical. It is a wildly cursive script abounding in abbreviations, similar to Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Abb. 45.

In behalf of the village elders of Soknopaiu Nesos, Sotas and Peeius pay at different times sums totalling in the full amount demanded by the administration of the domain land formerly belonging to Theoninos for the privilege of grazing their sheep thereon. This, at least, is the view taken in BGU 2102 introd. Literature presenting the traditional interpretation is listed in that discussion.

ἔτους ις' Α[ο]νκίων Σεπτιμίων Σεβήρου)

Περτίνακος καὶ Μ[ά]ρκου

Ἀδρη(λίου) Ἀντων(ίνου) Εὐσε(βοῦς) Σεβ[ασ]τῶν καὶ

Πονβ(λίου) Σεπτ(μίου) Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

- 5 Φαρμούθι κ· παρ(έσχον) πρ[εσ]β(ύτεροι) κώ(μης)
Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσ(ου) δι(ὰ) [Σώ]τα Εριέως κο(ινωνοῦ)
οὐσ(ίας) (πρότερον) Θεω(νίνου) φόρον α . . [. . .].

δραχ(μάς) ἑκα[τ]ὸν τριάκον[τ]α δ[ύ]ο

(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ελβ (συμβόλον) (δρ.) α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον)

- 10 καὶ Παχῶ(ν) ιθ· παρ(έσχον) πρ[εσ]β(ύτεροι) κώ(μης) Σοκνο(παίου)
διὰ Πεισοῦτ[ος] κο(ινωνοῦ) οὐσ(ίας) (πρότερον) Θεω(νίνου) φό(ρον)
προβ(άτων) ις (ἔτους) δραχ(μάς) τριακοσίας
δέκα μίαν (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) τία (τριώβολον) (συμβόλον) (δρ.)
α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον)

- 5 Φαρμούθι κ: April 11, 208 A.D.

παρ(έσχον) πρ[εσ]β(ύτεροι): These seem to me to be the most natural expansions of the abbreviations, both here and in P. Bour. 29.6—corresponding to διέγραψε, -αν in parallel receipts. As it stands in the first edition and in the corrected one (BGU 2102 introd.), to wit: παρ(ὰ) πρ[εσ]β(υτέρων) κτλ., the receipt lacks a verb.

- 6 [Σώ]τα Εριέως: The same pays rent on grazing land in P. Bour. 29.7.

- 7 οὐσ(ίας) (πρότερον) Θεω(νίνου): This tract is well-known from other documents: BGU 63, 102, 382, 2102; P. Bour. 29. At the end of the line the papyrus is shredded and abraded. Αἰγῶν or ἀρνίων as in BGU 1712 are too short.

- 9 (συμβόλον) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.): Cf. BGU 63.8, 382.9, 810 I 8, II 8, 2276.8; P. Bour. 29.10. These signs after the total have baffled editors for years. H. Maehler, extrapolating from BGU 102.5: συμβόλον μία τρεῖς ἡμισον, suggests, instead of reading ἀγο' as others have done, the interpretation given in the transcript.

- 10 Παχῶ(ν) ιθ: May 14.

- 11 Πεισοῦτ[ος]: Perhaps to be identified with the tax-payer in BGU 639 I 36 (208 A.D., Soknopaiu Nesos).

Following his name one expects the entry οὐσ(ίας) (πρότερον) Θεω(νίνου); however, the papyrus is so badly damaged that sure readings are impossible.

- 13 The total amount of 443 dr. 3 obols, paid by the elders of Soknopaiu Nesos to the administrators of the domain land, is identical to the sum receipted already in four documents: BGU 63, 102, 2102; P. Bour. 29.

Translation: "Year 16 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Pharmuthi 20. The elders of the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, through their associate Sotas, son of Herieus, have paid for . . . rent of the estate formerly belonging to Theoninos, one hundred thirty-two drachmas, total 132 dr. For the receipt, 1 dr. 3 1/2 ob.

And Pachon 9. The elders of the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, through their associate Peeius, have paid for sheep rent of the 16th year (on the estate formerly belonging to Theoninos) three hundred eleven drachmas 3 obols, total 443 dr. 3 ob. For the receipt, 1 dr. 3 1/2 ob."

Nr. 2299 Sitologos Receipt

P. 21761
11.4 × 11.6 cm

Tebtynis
162 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, lower 1 cm, left 1.5 cm, right 1 cm. Large breaks mar the center of the medium dark brown papyrus. The script is a careful, upright cursive, presenting few difficulties.

The sitologoi of Tebtynis acknowledge the receipt of eighteen artabs of wheat from Apia to the account of Paopis. A year later Apia makes a second payment of nine artabs to Paopis' account, and Atreus pays to the account of Zoilos a sum on land taxes at Polydeukia.

This papyrus is unusual in recording tax-payments for two successive years. Although it is common in Ptolemaic receipts that additional yearly payments are appended to the first one (Z. Packman, *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt*, New Haven, 1968, pp. 54, 58), parallels among Roman tax receipts of any sort are scarce (e.g. P. Strasb. 501-2; P. Lond. 851; P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI 26; P. Mert. 88; P. Cair. Isid. 41; P. Beatty Panop. introd., p. 7, n. 1). The most approximate analogue to this text is P. Mil. Vogl. 182, a sitologos receipt for two consecutive years, whereas successive monthly payments appear in P. Mil. Vogl. 176; BGU 188, 716; P. Tebt. 367.

The relationship of consecutive receipts to one another has received lengthy discussion by P. Sijpesteijn in P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI 26, p. 94. The question arises whether the first receipt was antedated when both payments were made in the second year of Marcus Aurelius, or the payments for the second year were added to a receipt originally dealing with the payments for the first year alone. In this case, the former seems likely, for despite the margin between them, from the first receipt through the second, the left line ends show a gradual displacement to the right—such as would be likely to happen when they were both written at one sitting.

Parallel documents include: P. Tebt. 365, 366, 367, 369; P. Kronion 30-32, 40, 44 = P. Mil. Vogl. 182 = SB 9382; BGU 61, 67, 188, 218, 336, 716, 755, 787, 792, 1608, 1609, 2025, 2026, 2300-2303; P. Berol. inv. 21402; P. Ryl. 202a; P. Fay. 81-85, 264 = SPP IV, p. 118, 342; P. Lond. II pp. 89-94, III 913, 914; P. Aberd. 32; P. Oslo 28; P. Mert. 16; P. Mil. Vogl. 171-173, 175-177, 182, 246; PSI 37, 1407; P. Oxy. 89, 90, 287, 383-385, 517, 518, 612, 1541, 2839-2842; P. Amh. 120; P. Grenf. II 47; P. Hamb. 43; P. Thead. 31; P. Cair. Preis. 27, 28; P. Flor. 35; P. Strasb. 351, 369, 372, 457, 516, 529; P. Mich. 391-398; P. Lugd.-Bat. VI 55; SPP XXII 107, 118, 119, 121, 127, 158; Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg. 25; SB 9045, 9244, 9382, 9383, 9433, 9492, 9620 *passim*, 9652; P. Osl. inv. 1022 in *Symbolae Osloenses* 49 (1974) 39ff. Whereas the foregoing are exclusively Roman, Packman *op. cit.* lists and treats a number of Ptolemaic papyri whose formulae foreshadow those used later.

ἔτους [πρ]ώτου Αὐτοκράτο[ος] Καίσαρος
Μάρκου [Αἰ]ρή[η]λ[ο]ν Ἀντωνίνου Σ[εβ]αστοῦ

καὶ Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αἰρή[η]λίου
Οἰήρου Σεβ[α]στοῦ Παῦνι κδ· Ε[.]ατ. ιος

- 5 καὶ οἱ μέ[τοχ]οι σιτ[ολ]ο[γ]οι κώ[μης] Τεβτ[ύν]εως μεμετρή[μεθα]
ἀπὸ τῶν γ[εν]η[μ]άτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους εἰς Π[α]ῶπιν
Ψοίφως [δι]ὰ Ἀπίας δη[μοσίων] πυροῦ μέτ[ρ]ω
δη[μοσίω] ξυστ[ῶ] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ἰζ φορέτ[ρον] (πυρ. ἀρτ.) α (γίνονται)
(πυρ. ἀρτ.) ι[η]

β (ἔτους) Ἐπειφ [.] εἰς Παῶπιν Ψοίφως

- 10 δι]ὰ Ἀπίας [.] [[δη[μοσίων]] π[υρ]οῦ (ἀρτ.) ηλ
φο[ρέτ]ρον (πυρ. ἀρτ.) λ (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) θ[.] εἰς Ζωίλον Πασάντος
ἐπ[ε]ρ λη[μ]μάτων Πολυδ[ενκίας] [.] καὶ δι]ὰ Ἀτρέως Ἀρεώτου
Πολυδ[ενκίας] [e.g. δη[μοσίων]

- 4 Παῦνι κδ = June 18, 161 A.D.

The end of the sitologos' name is partly abraded, making reading difficult. The fourth letter may be tau or upsilon, depending upon the form intended by the writer.

- 6 εἰς: Names construed with this preposition were the persons to whose accounts the grain dues, delivered by their tenants, were accredited (Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay. 81 introd., p. 211; P. Ryl. 202a. 8 note).

Π[α]ῶπιν Ψοίφως: The same person announces the death of his father, Psoiphis, son of Paopis, a priest of Soknebtynis, in 151 A.D. (P. Tebt. 300). Psoiphis, furthermore, appears in a transaction dated 116/117 (P. Tebt. 309); his grandsons, Psoiphis (39 years old) and Kronios (31 years old), both sons of the Paopis of this papyrus, rent some temple land in 164 A.D. (PSI 1143).

- 7 δι]α: Persons introduced by δι]α were undoubtedly the tenants who were paying the taxes (cf. P. Ryl. 202a. 14-15 note; P. Berl. Leihg. 1 R 12 note).

δη[μοσίων]: For the traditional interpretation see Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay. 81 introd.; P. Tebt. 365 introd.

- 8 φορέτ[ρον]: On freight costs from the *thesauros* to the harbor, see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 42ff.

- 9 Although not expressly stated, the sitologoi thirteen months later are probably the same (cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 254). Had there in fact been a turnover in officials it would have been indicated.

- 10 δη[μοσίων]: The abbreviation has been deliberately cancelled, but what—if anything—has been substituted in its place is impossible to see.

- 11 After the total one would expect a date or καί; however, the trace to the right of the lacuna neither resembles the end of καί, nor is it capped by a heavy dark stroke as the other dates are (lines 4, 9).

- 12 Πολυδ[ενκίας]: I owe the resolution of this abbreviation to H. C. Youtie. The interest of these last lines lies in the fact that Atreus in Tebtynis has paid to the account of Zoilos the imposts on land at Polydeukia (see Preisigke, *Girouesen*, pp. 89ff.).

Translation: "The first year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Payni 24. We, E- and partners, sitologoi of the village of Tebtynis, have had measured to us from the (produce of the same) year by smoothed public measure, to the credit of Paopis, son of Psoiphis, (by) Apia, for the rent of domain land 17 artabs of wheat; for freight dues 1 artab of wheat, totalling 18 artabs.

The 2nd year, Epeiph -. To the account of Paopis, son of Psoiphis, by Apia . . . for the rent of domain land $8\frac{1}{2}$ artabs of wheat; for freight $\frac{1}{2}$ artab of wheat, totalling 9 artabs . . . To the account of Zoilos, son of Pasaus, on behalf of the revenues at Polydeukia . . . and by Atreus, son of Hareotes, for (e.g. the rent of domain land) at Polydeukia."

Nr. 2300 Sitologos Receipt

P. 21401

10 × 7.5 cm

Exo Pseur

December 7, 190 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 2 cm, lower 1.7 cm. The light brown papyrus was folded four times vertically and lacks the rightmost fold; it is otherwise marred here and there by a few worm holes. Large, bold, slashing strokes characterize the cursive script.

Leonid-, Heroninos and colleagues, sitologoi of the plain of Exo Pseur, receipt a grain payment made to them on the account of a certain Hol-.

ἔτους λα' Ἀδρηλίου Κομ[μόδου]
 Ἀρτωνίνου Καίσα[ρος τοῦ κυρίου]
 Ἀδρι(ανῶ)ς ἰα· Λεωνιδ[]
 καὶ Ἡρωνεῖ(ος) καὶ με[τέτοχοι] σιτολ(όγοι)
 5 πεδίου Ἐξω Ψεῦρ [μεμετρήμεθα] ἀπὸ
 γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ[η(λυθότος) λ (ἔτους) μέτρῳ]
 δη(μοσίῳ) ξυστ(ῶ) <ε>ῖς Ωλ[± 8]
 Βακχιάδ[ο]ς Ἡφαισ[τιάδος πν-]
 ροῦ ἀρτά[βας] τέσσ[αρας (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) δ]

3 Λεωνιδ[: I owe this reading as well as that of the plain in line five to H. Maehler

5 πεδίου : To my knowledge one published text names a *pedion* as the administrative district of sitologoi: P.Amh. 69.5-8: *παρὰ Ἡρώτος τοῦ Ἡρώ(ος) καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολόγῳ(ν) μέρους πεδίου Ἀπτοδίκης*. In BGU 755 sitologoi have jurisdiction over *topoi*.

Ἐξω Ψεῦρ : From the five texts in which this locale already appears (P.Gen. 81.30; CPR 175.2; P.Cair.Preis. 12.2; P.Petaus 43.29,33; P.Flor. 376.35), little information can be gleaned, since three of the four are more or less lists of places. More than that it was somewhere in the division of Heraklides and probably near Bacchias, Hephastias and Philadelphia (P.Cair.Preis. 12.2 note) cannot be positively stated. In P.Flor. 376.34-35 read *περὶ [τὸ πεδ]ῶ(ν) Ἐξω Ψεῦρ*?

Translation: "Year 31 of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus (Caesar the lord), Hadrianos 11. We, Leonid- . . . and Heroninos and (colleagues, sitologoi) of the plain Exo Pseur, (have had measured to us from) the produce of the past (30th year) by smoothed public (measure), to the credit of Hol- . . . of Bacchias-Hephastias, four artabs of wheat (total 4 art.)."

Nr. 2301 Sitologos Receipt

P. 25126

22.5 × 7.1 cm

Heraklia

June-July, 196 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, lower 6.3 cm, left 1 cm. Folded twice vertically and perhaps three times horizontally. The light brown papyrus is badly worm-chewed and lacks the lower right corner. The hand is a large, fluid cursive slanted to the right.

Syros, son of Ken.eis, receives notice from the sitologoi of Heraklia that there have been deposited on his account nine artabs of grain in payment for taxes and arrears. P. Ryl. 202a.8ff. note discusses this type of document.

ἔτους δ- Λονκίου
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
 Εὔσεβοῦς Περτίνακος
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρ[μ]ενιακοῦ
 5 Ἀδιαβην[κοῦ] Ἐπίφ ε-
 . . . ας Παπ[] καὶ Ἰσιδώρου
 Ζωσίμου καὶ μέτοχοι(οι) σιτολ(όγοι)
 κώ(μης) Ἡρακ(λείας) μεμετρήμε-
 θα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέ-
 10 ρας τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς
 μέτρῳ ξυστῶ επαετον
 <ε>ῖς Σύρον Κερ.εῖτος
 κατοίκων [Ἡ]ρακ(λείας) πυροῦ
 [ἀρ]τάβας [μ]ίαν ἡμισυ (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) αλ
 15 [δ]φίλονται [.] δ ὁμ(όλως)
 καὶ τὸ ἰβ- ἄλ[λα]ς πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβας τρεῖς ἡμισυ
 (γίν.) (ἀρτάβαι) γλ[] [(γίν.)] τοῦ συμ-
 βόλου (ἀρτάβαι) θ[.]
 20 μεμετρήμε[θα ± 8]
 ἀρτάβας ἐν[έα ± 8]
 ὡς πρόκει[τα]ι [± 8]

5 Ἐπίφ ε- : June 29.

6 ἰ. Ἰσιδώρος

11 επαετον : This word still lacks a definition; see P.Hamb. 43.9 note; P. Ryl. 166.15-16 note; P. Berl. Leihg. 25.13 note.

12 Κερ.εῖτος : or -σιτος

16 ἰ. τῇ ἰβ : July 6.

17 ἰ. ἡμισυ

Translation: "Year 4 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Armeniacus Adiabenicus, Epeiph 5. We, N.N., son of Pap-, and Isidoros, son of Zosimos, and colleagues, sitologoi of the village of Heraklia, have had measured to us on the same day of the present month to the account of Syros, son of Ken.eis, for land-tax on *catoeci* of Heraklia, . . . in level measure (one and a half) artabs of wheat, total $1\frac{1}{2}$ art.; there are owed . . . 4; similarly and on the 12th, another three and one half artabs, total $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. (Total) of the receipt 9 art. We, . . ., have had measured . . . nine artabs . . . as stated above . . ."

Nr. 2302 Sitologos Receipt

P. 21460 verso
15.3 × 6.6 cm

199/200 A.D.

Upper margin 2.5 cm, left 2 cm, lower 1.4 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and coarse textured. It was folded three times vertically, and the rightmost fold has broken off. The hand is a large, slanting and expert cursive one. On the recto is an oath of surety 2249.

Papirios and Lamp- along with their colleagues receipt the payment of certain sums in kind to the accounts of Apynchis, son of Apynchis, and Pekysis, son of A-.

ἔτους ζ' Λο[υκίου Σεπτ[ιμίου] Σεονή[ρου]]
Εὐσεβοῦς) Περτ[ίναξ(ος) Σεβαστοῦ]
Παρθικοῦ μεγίσ[του] καὶ Μάρκ[ου] Αἰδρηλ[ίου]
Αντωνίνου Σε[βαστοῦ] Πα-
5 πείριος καὶ Λαμπ[] καὶ
μέτ(ο)χοι(οι) σιτολ[όγοι] κώ[μης] ± 10]
μεμετρήμεθα [ἐν θησανρῶ τῆς]
προκει(μένης) κώμης ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων) τοῦ . (ἔτους)]
ὑπὲρ Σοκνο(παίου) Νή[σου]]
10 εἰς Πεκῶσιν Α[] πυροῦ]
(ἀρτάβας) δ[ε] καπέν[τε] (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ιε, καὶ εἰς]
Ἀπῶγχιν Ἀπύγ[χεως]]
πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) δέκ[α]]

1-3 Were the emperors' titles written out in full in the lacunae of the first and third lines there would be 22 and 20 letters respectively—far more than in any other. Since the titles preserved on the left are written out in full, it is incongruous to abbreviate only those within the lacuna, yet it seems the only solution.

Translation: "Year 7 of Lucius (Septimius Severus) Pius Pertinax (Augustus) Parthicus Maximus (and of Marcus Aurelius) Antoninus Augustus, (date). We,

Papirios and Lamp- (and) associates, sitologoi of the village of . . ., have had measured to us (in the *thesauros*) of the aforementioned village (from the harvest of the -th year) into the (account) of Pekysis, son of A-, for the . . . of Soknopaiu Nesos, fifteen (artabs of wheat, total 15 artabs), (and into the (account)) of Apynchis, son of Apynchis . . . ten . . . artabs of wheat . . ."

Nr. 2303 Sitologos Receipt

P. 21473
14.6 × 9.5 cm

Kerkesucha
212-217 A.D

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm, lower 5.5 cm. The light brown papyrus is badly damaged along the vertical lines of folding. The outer two of the four folds are missing entirely. The heavy, slanting cursive script offers few difficulties.

The sitologoi of Kerkesucha state that they have received into the account of Aurelios Suchas, son of Titianos, more than three artabs of wheat.

[(ἔτους) . . .] Αἰ[τοκρ]άτορος Μάρκ[ου] Αἰδρηλ[ί-]
[ου] Σεο[υ]ήρου Αντων[.] . [Εὐσεβοῦς]
[Εὐ]τυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Πα[]
[. . .]ετις Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ μέτ(ο)χοι(οι) σι-
5 [τολ[όγοι]] κώ[μης] Κερκ[ε]σ[ού]χω(ρ) ἐμ[ε]τρή(θησαν)]
[ἡμ]εῖν ἐν θη[σα]υρῶ τῆς [αὐτῆς]
[κ]ώμης μ[.] . [ροχ[.] . . . εἰς]
[Α]ἰδρηλ[ί]ον Σονχᾶν Τιτιαν[οῦ]]
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τρεῖς . (γίνονται) [(ἀρτάβαι) γ.]

- 1 Extending diagonally upwards from the broken left edge of the papyrus is a long trace of ink terminating in a loop—probably a stroke after the year number.
- 1-3 I find no other attestation to this titlature in Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, pp. 102-105.
- 3 Πα[.] : Παχών or Παῶν.
- 5 Κερκ[ε]σ[ού]χω(ρ): See 2279.13 note.
- 7 μ[.] . [ροχ[.] . . .] : I am at a loss for a reasonable restoration of the lacunae. Is this a name? of a tax? The construction could be emended by adding a preposition, *i.e.* ἐμετρήθησαν ἡμεῖν . . . διὰ Μ[.] . [ροχ[.] . . .] εἰς Αἰδρηλ[ί]ον Σ.Τ. ἀρτάβαι κτλ. On the interpretation and correction of such errors see Preisigke, *Griechische Papyri*, pp. 174-180.
- 8 I owe the successful decipherment of the name to H. Maehler.
- 9 The amount appears to be three artabs and a fraction, but the papyrus is too damaged to provide a clear reading.

Translation: "(Year . . .) of Emperor Marcus (Aurelius) Severus Antoninus (Pius) Felix Augustus, (month, date). We, -etis, son of Apollonios, (and colleagues, sitologoi) of the village Kerkesucha, have had measured to us in the *thesauros* of the (same) village into the account of Aurelios Suchas, son of Titianos . . ., three and . . . artabs of wheat, total (3 . . . artabs)."

Nr. 2304 Toll Receipt (Pl. XIII)

P. 21441
7 × 6.7 cm

Fayum
March 7, 18 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, left 0.5 cm, lower 1.8 cm. Between lines four and five is a space of 0.5 cm; between lines six and seven 0.8 cm. Folded twice horizontally. The papyrus is medium dark brown and fine-textured. A break runs through the upper central portion, and to the right of it lines one and two are abraded. The script is small and finely written in neatly spaced lines. The last three lines appear to be in the same hand although they are not so straight and somewhat more coarsely written.

This toll receipt dating to 18 A.D. is the earliest one yet to be published and predates P. Fuad Crawford 34 by twenty-four years. The date is not so important in itself—earlier ones will undoubtedly turn up. What gives this piece its interest is its format which is comparable to those of P. Fuad Crawford 34 and P. Reinach II 95, both reedited by Borkowski in *Chron. d'Ég.* 45 (1970) 328–333, where he draws attention to their common features: the epistolary form, the same addressees, composition by an official whose name stands at the beginning of the text, and the lack of any indication of export or import. Except with regard to the addressees and the impost—both of which are either lost or somehow connected with the obscure reference in line two to *την πε Μέμφεως*—2304 adheres to these canons.

Ma. a... [± 5 καὶ] Σώτα[ς] οἱ πρὸς τ(ῆ)
πύλῃ Βα[± 11]. τὴν πε Μέμφεως
χαί(ρειν)· παρ[έ]σχε]ρ ὄνους πώλους
πέντε καὶ χα[ρα]γμ[έν]ος εἰς (γίνονται) ὄρ[οι] εἰς
5 (έτους) δ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Φαμενώ(θ) ια
Σώτας ἐπηκολούθη

- 1 Ma. a... [: Μαριτ., Μαροσ. [οἱ πρὸς τ(ῆ) πύλῃ : Cf. Borkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 328: Φανίας ὁ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ; and the other early toll receipts in this collection.
- 2 Βα[: Of the letter following beta not enough remains to identify it with any surety. One thinks naturally of the gate-house at Bacchias; however, this papyrus was found in a box labelled "Dime", out of which have come several other toll receipts, all from the gate-house at Soknopaiu Nesos.
την πε Μέμφεως : The text here diverges from the pattern common to other early receipts. Following the name of the customs house one expects the impost and the addressees, in that order. With the mention of Memphis must be connected the fee for harbor-duties, invariably indicated in these receipts by λιμένος Μέμφεως. However, the first word can in no way be read here. H. Maehler suggests expanding and restoring τοῖς τελωνοῦσι τὴν πε(νηκοστήν) Μέμφεως. The suggestion is an attractive one, for in later receipts one finds the collectors of the tax for the harbor of Memphis also taking in the 3% (ρ' και ς') customs fees (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 268). So here in this

receipt, dating from a time when the *ἐκατοστή* and *πεντηκοστή* may have been individually levied and receipted, may be a reference to the 2% tax alone. Receipts for the 1% tax are listed in Z. Borkowski, "Toll Receipts for *ἐκατοστή*, ρ' και ς' and *ἐρημοφυλακία* from Berlin", *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 131.

3 χαί(ρειν) : There is no symbol of abbreviation.

4 1. *κεχαραγμένον* εἶνα : It is the donkeys themselves which are being presented as commodities—hence their description (see N. Clauson, "A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt", *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 277; P. Merton 20 introd.).

7 1. *ἐπηκολούθησα* : Other early receipts, P. Fay. 67; 2306, carry the signatures of the examining officials.

Translation: "Ma— (and) Sotas, the superintendants of the gate-house at B— . . . of Memphis, greetings. —n has presented five donkey foals and one branded one, total (six) donkeys. Year 4 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phame-noth 11. I, Sotas, have checked it."

Nr. 2305 Toll Receipt (Pl. XIII)

P. 25111
7 × 8.8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
November 20, 51 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.5 cm, lower 3.5 cm, left *ca.* 1 cm, right *ca.* 1 cm. Folded four times vertically. The coarse-textured, light brown papyrus lacks a large section in the left margin and displays a good-sized hole to the right. In the lower margin gapes a round space where the seal was once attached. However, despite all these damages the content remains relatively intact. The hand is a small vertical cursive one. See 2306 introd.

Δι[ο]χένη(ς) ὁ πρὸς(ς) τῇ πύλῃ(η) Σο[κ]νοπαίου] λι(μένος) Μέ(μφεως)
ἐρημ[ο](φύλαξι)· παρ[έ]σχε Διδυμος ἐλαίο(ν) ὄνο(ν)
εἶνα μετ(ρητάς) ὄρ[οι] (γίνονται) μετ(ρηται) β [(έτους)] ια Τιβερίου
[Κ]λαυδίου Καί[σα]ρος Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ Γερμα[ν]ικοῦ]

5 Αὐτοκράτορος μην(ός) Νέον [Σεβασ]τοῦ
τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι

1 ὁ πρὸς(ς) τῇ πύλῃ(η) : See 2304.1 and 2307.1 notes.

2 ἐρημ[ο](φύλαξι) : See 2307.3–4 note. One expects *χαίρειν*, but it is evidently here omitted.

6 1. *τρίτη*

Translation: "Diogenes, the superintendant of the gate-house at Soknopaiu Nesos for the harbor-of-Memphis-tax, to the desert-guards. Didymos has presented one donkey load or two measures of oil, total 2 measures. (Year) 11 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, on the twenty-third of the month New Augustus."

Nr. 2306 Toll Receipt

P. 25116

7 × 7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

January 7, 52 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 0.5 cm, lower margin 1.9 cm. Folded three times vertically. The papyrus is a mottled light brown and in relatively good condition, only the first line having suffered extensive damage. The hand is the same one which wrote 2305.

Δ[ιογένη(ς) καὶ Τ]ούλ(ιος) οἱ πρ[ὸς(ς)] τ[ῇ] πύλ(ῃ)]

Νή(σον) Σοκ(νοπαίου) λι(μένος) Μ[έ(μφεως) ἐ]ρη(μοφύλαξι) χ(αίρειν)·

παρέσ(χε) Δίδυμ(ος)

ἐλαί(ο)ν ὄνο(ν) ἔνα μετ(ρητάς) δύο (γίνονται) μετ(ρηταὶ) β· (ἔτους) ι[α]

Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

5 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος

Τῷβι ι· (m. 2) Ἰούλιος σεσημ(είωμαι)· Δίδυμ(ος) π·()

ὄνο(ν) ἔνα ἐλαίον μετρητάς δύο ἐλ(αίον) β

(ἔτους) ια Τῷβι δεκάτου

1-2 Δ[ιογένη(ς)] ... Δίδυμ(ος): The same appear in 2305.

6 Δίδυμ(ος): The iota has been written through upsilon.

π·(): Undoubtedly for πα(ρέσχε). One letter is on the line, the other above it. The papyrus is damaged, the space narrow, the writing cramped.

7 1. δύο

8 1. δεκάτη

Translation: "(Diogenes and) Julios, the superintendants of (the gate-house) at Soknopaiu Nesos for the harbor-(of-Memphis-tax), to the desert-guards, greetings. Didymos has presented one donkey load or two measures of oil, total 2 meas. Year 11 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, Tybi 10. (Hd. 2) I, Julios, have signed it. Didymos has presented one donkey or two measures of oil, 2 oil. Year 11, Tybi the tenth."

Nr. 2307 Toll Receipt

P. 21486

7 × 6.8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos

1st c. A.D.

Recto blank. Upper margin 1.2-0.8 cm. Folded 3 times horizontally. The papyrus is light brown and for what remains well-preserved. The script is large and practiced and written across the vertical fibers.

↓ ὁ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Νήσον

Σοκνοπαίου λιμένος

Μέμφεως ἐρημο-

φύλαξι χαίρειν· παρέσχε

5 Παπεῖς ἐ(ξάγων) ἐλαίου κάμηλ(ον)

εἰς μετρητάς) δ, ὄνους δύο μετρητάς)

πέντε (γίνονται) μετρηταὶ) ἐννέα

1 ὁ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ: The same title appears in P. Reinach II 95; 2304, 2305, 2306.

3-4 ἐρημοφύλαξι: P. Reinach II 95; P. Fuad Crawford 34; 2305, 2306, are likewise addressed to these officials.

5 ἐ(ξάγων): It is a characteristic of early receipts which begin with the verb παρέχω that they omit this detail. Here, for the first time, is an exception.

6 1. ἔνα

Translation: "The superintendant of the gate-house at Soknopaiu Nesos for the harbor-of-Memphis-tax, to the desert-guards, greetings. Papeis has presented in export one camel load or 4 measures of oil; two donkey loads or five measures, total nine measures ..."

Nr. 2308 Toll Receipt

P. 21874

2.8 × 3.3 cm

Dionysias

2nd century A.D.

Verso blank. The papyrus is light brown, the hand a clear, distinctly written cursive.

τετελ(ώνηται) δι(ὰ) πύλ(ης) Διο-

νυσι(άδ(ος) ρ⁺ καὶ ν⁻

Πεκῶσις ἐξάγ(ων) εἰς

ἄσαι(ν) ὁσ(πρέων) κα(μη)λ()

5 ..[]..[].....

1-2 Διονυσι(άδ(ος)): This is the fourth receipt to come from Dionysias; cf. BGU 2029; P. Fay. 68; SB 7822.

3 1. εἰς

4 ἄσαι(ν): Here the Small Oasis is probably meant, for Dionysias lies directly on the route to it, whereas the oasis in the receipts from Soknopaiu Nesos is the Ammon Oasis, according to the reasoning proffered by Grenfell and Hunt in P. Grenf. II 50b.3 note.

3 1. *δωτά*. The articles of trade have evidently been omitted. It seems fairly certain that it is not the camels themselves that are regarded as commodities, for one expects a description of the animals in such a case (Clauson, "A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt", *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 277), e.g. 2315, 2327.5–6; P. Merton 20; P. Strasb. 389.

Nr. 2313 Toll Receipt

P. 21743
6.7 × 4 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
183 or 215 A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 0.7 cm. The papyrus is light brown and badly damaged in the middle. The hand is a crude cursive. To the left between lines four and five is a hook of ink; to the right between lines nine and ten a dot—both from surrounding receipts in the roll from which this one was cut.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλης
Σοκνοπαίου Νή-
σου ἐρημοφυλ(ακίας)
Σώτας ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ
5 καμήλ·[]...
[]...[]...
(ἔτους) κδ|| Θὼθ
κδ
καὶ ἐπὶ ὄνῳ
10 ἐνεί

4 Σώτας: The name appears frequently in receipts from Soknopaiu Nesos: P. Sijpesteijn, "Eine weitere Torzollquittung aus der Amsterdamer Papyrussammlung", *ZPE* 7 (1971) 46.

9-10 On the interpretation of entries after the date, see 2309.8-9 note. Here, however, the donkey seems to have been overlooked in the first count and tacked onto the end.

10 1. ἐνί

Nr. 2314 Toll Receipt

P. 21872
5.5 × 7.7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
January 31, 145 A.D.

Recto blank. Lower margin 2.5 cm, left margin 0.5 cm. The papyrus is well-preserved, the hand a rough but easily legible cursive.

↓ τετελώ(νηται) διὰ πύλης Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσου
λι(μένος) Μέμφεως Ἐριεύς ἐξάγω(ν) ἐλαίου
καμήλο(ς) τρεῖς μετροῦντας δεκα-
τρεῖς ἡμισυν· ἔτους ὀγδόου
5 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Μεχέιρ ἕκτη ᾗ

2 Ἐριεύς: The same also appears in P. Lond. II 316 (p. 84).

3 Here, as in P. Fay. 76a and 2309, both animal loads and measures are in the accusative.

Nr. 2315 Toll Receipt

P. 21711
8.9 × 4.8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
late first c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.4 cm, lower 2.8 cm. The hand is a neat, precise, almost literary one, unusual in these receipts.

[τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ] πύλης Σοκνοπαίου[ν Νήσου]
[λιμένος] Μέμφεως Διονόσιος []
[] καμή[λ]ον ἄρρεν[α] []
[] κεχα[ρ]αγμέν[ον] []
5 []...αρε·[] []
[] Καίσαρος·[] []
[] ακαιδεκ[άτη] []
[] σεσημείω[μαι] × × × []

5 αρε·[: Perhaps Ἀραβ[ικοῖς]; not χαράχ[μασι]; cf. BGU 1108; 2106; P. Grenf. II 50a.

8 The crosses replace a seal (Husselman, "Two Customs House Receipts from Egypt", *TAPA* 82 (1951) 165).

Nr. 2316 Toll Receipt

P. 21717
6 × 4.3 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
83 A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 2.3 cm. A large and irregular script is written on a light brown papyrus which is full of holes.

παρέσ(χηκε) διὰ πύλης Νήσου
Σοκνεπαίου ἐρ(ημοφυλακίας)
Στοτοῦτιν ὄν[ο-] κνάμον]
μέλανος· (ἔτους) β Α[ὐτοκράτορος]
5 Καίσαρος Δομιτιαν[οῦ]
Σεβαστοῦ
Με[] []

3 1. Στοτοῦτις: A Stotoetis appears in P. Lips. 81, 82.

[κνάμον]: "Beans". The restoration is taken from P. Lond. III 1265a, b (p. 36) and SB IV 7365.4ff.

6 Με[χρί], Με[σορή] are the two possible month names.

Nr. 2317 Toll Receipt

P. 21721
6.8 × 3.5 cm

Philadelphia
early 3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 3 cm. The script is small, neat and rightward-slanting on light brown papyrus. In the lower margin is a large rectangular section where the seal has broken away.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Φιλα-
δελ(φίας) ρ και ν Γε-
μελλᾶς ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ ὅ-
νω ἐνὶ ὀρόβ(ον) (ἀρτάβας)
5 τρεῖς· (ἔτους) ιη Φαρ-
μοῦθι δωδε-
κάτη ιβ

4 ὀρόβ(ον): The commodity here being exported is so written as to be almost illegible. Of the various goods measured in artabs ὀροβος seems to fit the given loops and lines most satisfactorily—but that reading too not without reservation.

5 l. τρεῖς

Nr. 2318 Toll Receipt

P. 21722
5.5 × 4.4 cm

Philadelphia
early 3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Lower margin 1 cm. The hand is a large and bold cursive on a well-preserved light brown papyrus.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Φιλαδ(ελφίας)
ἵχνουσι ἐρημοφυ(λακίας)
Τούρβων ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ
ὄνω ἐνεί α φοί-
5 νικος (ἀρτάβην) μίαν α
(ἔτους) ιβ|| Μεχειρ τρεῖ-
τη γ· χωρὶς σφ(ραγῖδος)

2 l. ἵχνουσι

4 l. ἐνί

7 χωρὶς σφ(ραγῖδος): The same phrase appears in BGU 763, 2108; P.Aberd. 41b, 43b.

Nr. 2319 Toll Receipt

P. 21449
5.3 × 5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
November 16, 126 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.4 cm, left 0.4 cm, lower 1.8 cm. The light brown papyrus is well-preserved, and the script is small and neat. In the lower margin traces of clay surround a small hole through which the damp seal was once pressed (E. Husselman, "Two Customs House Receipts from Egypt", *TAPA* 82 (1951) 165). After the date a long stroke runs to the margin; below the last line a stroke runs the width of the papyrus.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σοκνοπ(αίου)
Νήσου ρ- Ιούδας ἐξάγων(ν)
ἐλαίου μετρητήν ἓνα α-
και φοίνικος (ἀρτάβης) ἡμισου
5 πάντα ἐπὶ καμήλῳ ἐν[ί].
(ἔτους) ια Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου]
Ἀθὺρ εἰκάδι κ-

2 ρ- = ἑκατοστή: Cf. Z. Borkowski, "Toll Receipts for ἑκατοστή, ρ' και ν' and ἐρημο-φυλακία from Berlin", *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 131; P.Strasb. 250 i.

4 l. ἡμισου

Nr. 2320 Toll Receipt

P. 21474
5.5 × 5.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
2nd century A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 0.8 cm, upper 0.8 cm. The papyrus is light brown. The hand is irregular and crude but easily read.

↓ τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σ[οκνο(παίου) Νήσου]
Ἀμμουθ() ἐξ(άγων)[ἀρτά-]
βας τρεῖς ε.[
Μεσορή λ[
5 × × × ×[

2 Ἀμμουθ(): The name does not appear heretofore in toll receipts. However, the theta-shaped letter following omega may simply be a stylized nu, for Ἀμμών(ις) as in 2312.2.

Nr. 2321 Toll Receipt

P. 21487
7 × 6.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
December 6, 177 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.5 cm, lower 1.5 cm, left 0.5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and badly abraded and mangled to the right. The script is a large, heavy, slanting cursive, written in thick strokes.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλης [Σο-]
κνοπαίου λι(μένος) Μέμ[φε-]
ως Στοτοῆς ἐξ(άγων) <ἐπὶ> καμήλ(ω)
ἐνὶ καὶ πωλο [ἐλ(αίου)]
5 μετρητὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμ[(ισυ)] (γίνονται)]
ζ[Λ· (ἔτους) ἰς Ἀβλήρω Ἀνων[(ίνου) Κατ-]
σαρος τοῦ κυρίου[ν· Ἀδρι-]
ανοῦ δεκάτ[η]

2 Pap. ¹

4 πωλο: Probably πώλω ἐνί.

[ἐλ(αίου)]: Olive oil is always measured in *metretai* (N. Clauson, *op.cit.*, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 256).

6 1. Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου

Nr. 2322 Toll Receipt

P. 21499
5 × 7 cm

Philadelphia
180 or 212 A.D.

Recto blank. Upper margin 0.4 cm, left 0.3 cm, lower 1.3 cm. The light brown papyrus is damaged throughout by small holes. Across the grain of fibers runs a bold, racey script.

↓ τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλης Φιλαδελ(φίας) λι(μένος) Μ.()
Διογάτης ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ ὄνω
[ἐ]νὶ [ἀ]ράχον χλωροῦ
[.] . . . ὄν ἐνα· (ἔτους) κα|| Φαῶφι
5 ἐνεακ[αι]δεκάτη

1 Μ.(): Undoubtedly for Μέ(μφως); however, the second letter resembles eta. Following it is a diagonal stroke of abbreviation.

2 Διογάτης: *addendum onomasticis*.

3 [ἀ]ράχον: or [δ]ρόβον

4 1. [δε]σμών(?): Cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka* 35: φο]νικ() δεσμ() and additional examples cited in the commentary, vol. I, p. 757. However, the traces appear more like].λλον.

Nr. 2323 Toll Receipt

P. 21494
7.7 × 5.8 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
March 25, 177 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.3 cm, lower 2 cm. Apart from the third line, where the recto fibers have peeled away, and apart from a few other minor breaks in the light brown papyrus, it is in relatively good condition. The first hand is characterized by large, thick letters written in a paler ink, whereas those of the second hand are smaller, written in thinner, blacker strokes.

τε[τε]λ(ώνηται) διὰ πύ[λ(ης) Σοκνο(παίου)]
Νήσον ἐρημοφ[υλα-]
κίας [ὁ δεῖνα ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ . . .]
(m. 2) ἐνὶ [ἐλα]ίον με(τρητὰς) τέσσαρες ἡμ[(ισυ)]
5 καὶ ἐπὶ πώλ(οις) δυσι πυρο<ῦ> (ἀρτάβας) ὀκτώ
ὁ αὐτὸς[ς] ἐπὶ ὄνοις δυσι ἐλαί(ον)
μετρηται δύο· (ἔτους) ἰς Ἀδληρίων
Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Κομ(μ)όδου [τῶν]
[κυρίω]ν Σεβαστῶν ———
10 [Φα]μενώθ κθ

4 με(τρητὰς): It is possible that a tau superscript has disappeared with the missing recto fibers; however, on the millimeter of papyrus above the epsilon there is no trace of a long vertical hasta.

1. τέσσαρες

5 (ἀρτάβας): The symbol is a line with circles above and below it ($\frac{\circ}{\circ}$).

7 1. μετρητὰς, Ἀδρηλίων

Nr. 2324 Toll Receipt

P. 21741
6.1 × 3.7 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
December 8, 130 A.D.

Lower margin 3 cm. Folded twice vertically. The hand is a small, square one on a well-preserved light brown papyrus. In the lower margin is a hole surrounded by traces of clay. On the verso in the upper left corner is a short horizontal stroke ending in an upward curl.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ [πύ-]
λης Σοκνοπαίου λι[μέ-]
νος Μένφως (ἔτους) ἰδ
[Α]δριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ
5 κυρίου Σώτα(ς) ἐξ(άγων)
ἐπὶ πώλ(ω) α- ἐλα<ι>ον με(τρητὰς) β
Χοιάκ ιβ-
διδς

1 1. Μέμφως

Nr. 2325 Toll Receipt

P. 21742
7 × 6 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos
June 29, 136 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, lower 1 cm. Folded two times vertically. The papyrus is reasonably well-preserved and dark brown. The script is a rude cursive.

τετελ(ώνηται) δι(ὰ) πύλ(ης) Σοκ(νοπαίου) Νήσο(ν)
 ρ' και ν' Πανεφρέμ(μης) ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ
 ὄν(οις) δώδεκα και ἐπὶ καμήλ(ω)
 πώλ(ω) οἶνον κεράμ(ια) . . . (ἔτους) κ
 5 Ἀδριαν(οῦ) Κα[ί]σαρος τ(οῦ) κυρίου
 Ἐπεὶφ πέμπτη ε- × × × × ×

Nr. 2326 Customs House Register

P. 25128
fg. a: 14 × 11.7 cm
fg. b: 13.3 × 4.4 cm

168-176 or
180-193 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 4 cm. The light brown, fine-textured papyrus is brittle and full of holes and breaks. Both fragments are written in the same large, vertical, skilled script, but juncture between them is impossible to find.

These portions from a customs house account for five days are interesting only for their atypical formulae and for the appearance of a new port. I know of no other such register which designates the destinations of the exporters who pass through it, although occasionally in receipts one finds ὁ δεῖνα ἐξάγων εἰς ὅασι, e.g. 2308.4; P. Grenf. II 50b 3. Of the two different locales appearing here—Leukogion, and the port of Kephala—, the latter is heretofore unknown.

Fig. a

[(ἔτους) . . .] Μάρκ[ο]ν Ἀδρη[λίον] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
 [κυρίου θ. [
 Π. .ας ἐξ(άγων) εἰς προθυμῖον [Κεφαλ-
 Ηρακλ() ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖον
 5 (γίνονται) τῆς ἡμέρας
 Π. ερεως ἐξ(άγων) εἰς προθυμῖον Κε[φαλ-
 Θεωνᾶς ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖον ὁσ[πρέον
 Πατερμοῦθις ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς [Λ]ευκογῖον [
 Πανσεῖρ[ε]ς ἐξ(άγ.) τῇ - εἰς Λευκογῖον
 10 Πα. [.]ς ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς προθυμῖον Κεφαλ. [
 [(γίνονται) [ἡμ]έρας (ἀρτάβαι) κ- [
 [τῆς ἡμέρας [
]

[? Β]ουσειρεν προκατ[
 [.υ εννη κριθη.]
 15 traces

Fig. b

]. [
 ε]λ[ε] Λευκο[γῖον
] ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευ[κογῖον
] τῆς [ἡμέρας
 5] ὁ τῆς πενθημέρ[ου λόγος
].μης ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λε[υ]κ[ογῖον
] . . ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖ[ον
]ος ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖον [
] . ἑτέρου (ἀρτάβαι) β- [
 10 ε]λ[ε] Λευκογῖον φον[ίκων
] εἰς Λευκογῖον φοι[νίκων
 ε]λ[ε] (άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖ[ον
] ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖον [
 ε]λ[ε] Λευκογῖον (ἀρτάβας) [
 15] ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκογῖον [
]ς κερά(μιν) α- [
]ης ἐξ(άγ.) εἰς Λευκο[γῖο]ν [
]

Fig. a

- 1 In the lacuna, after Ἀδρηλίον, may have stood Κομμόδον. This titulature is attested for Marcus Aurelius from 168 to 176 A.D., for Commodus from 180-193 A.D. (Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, pp. 83, 89-90).
- 2 θ.[: Θώθ ?
- 3 1. πορθυμῖον. also l. 6, 10.
- 4 Λευκογῖο[v]: Grenfell and Hunt in P. Tebt. II, p. 417, place it outside the Fayum, Jouguet in P. Thead. 34.32-41 note near Dionysias.
- 10 Κεφαλῶ[v]?: On the broken edge of the papyrus is what resembles the left half of an omega. Apart from a Kephale attested from Byzantine times (SB 5336.16; SPP X 96), there appears in P. Hibeh 71.7 a Κεφάλαι, site of a quarry perhaps in Hibeh itself and probably located on the east bank of the river. Whether it had become a port by Roman times is of course impossible to say.
- 13-14 My guess is that these two lines are not just further entries but rather part of some general, perhaps concluding, statement. If Busiris did in fact stand in l. 13, its presence would be additional support for identifying Kephala with the Ptolemaic village of the same name, since Busiris in the Herakleopolite nome is attested in Ptolemaic and Roman periods (P. Hibeh 116.2, 218.65, 76).

Nr. 2327 Customs House Register

P. 25105

14.5 × 8.8 cm

Fayum?

2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, left 1.5–0.5 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and fine-textured. It was folded three times vertically, and the rightmost fold has since broken off. Owing to its fine and brittle character, it has also suffered some damage along the lines of folding and breaks at the twenty-first line. The hand is a rapid slanted cursive, yet neat and orderly.

This text derives from a customs house penthemeral registry and preserves portions of two days' incomes—date and location unknown. A strip of papyrus from the right has broken off taking with it the actual sums each person was obliged to pay on his freight, and as usual, no mention is made regarding the kind of duty exacted (Clauson, "A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt", *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 257). Eighteen entries in all mention sixteen exports and possibly two imports (l. 5?, 18). Of the nine commodities, three (l. 2, 3, 18) are new, having to my knowledge never before appeared in such lists or in individual customs house receipts. However, these small numbers do not suffice for extrapolating statistically valid conclusions regarding the state of commerce in second century Egypt.

Parallel texts are listed in Clauson, *op.cit.*, p. 240; add P.Merton 15 as well as this and the preceding document.

ἀπ' ια' έως ιε'

Τουτουήεις ἐξ(ἀγ.) λινοκαλ(αμῶν) ὄν(ους) γ' .[

Δεῖος ἐξ(ἀγ.) δοκῶν φορ(τία) καμ(ήλων) .[]

Πασίων ἐξ(ἀγ.) ἐπὶ ὄν(ους) ἐν(ὶ) ἀρτάβας πυροῦ β' [

5 Ζώσιμος μετὰ γων πρὸς ἀπεργ(ασίαν) ὄν(ον) [θήλειαν μέλαιναν μίαν
(γίνεται) θήλ(εια) μέλ(αινα) α' (δραχμαί) [

Σανσνεῦς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρέου) ὄν(ον) α' (ἀρτάβας) δ (δρ.) [

Νεπωτιανὸς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρέου) ὄν(ους) β' (ἀρτάβας) η (δρ.) [

Πετερεῦς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ἐλαίου ὄν() γ' μετρ(ητάς) ε' [

10 Σατουρνίνος ἐξ(ἀγ.) δοκῶν φ[ορ]τ(ία) καμ(ήλων) ε' [

..[]ων ἐξ(ἀγ.) τῇ ιβ' αἴγας ρο' (δρ.) [

Ηρακλῆς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρ.) ὄν(ους) ιε' (ἀρτ.) ξ λαχ() ὄν(ους) γ' (ἀρτ.) ιβ' [

Σατουρνίνος ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρ.) ὄν(ους) ιβ' (ἀρτ.) μη [

Ἀντωνίνος ἐξ(ἀγ.) λινοσ(πέριμων) ὄν(ον) α' (ἀρτ.) δ (δρ.) [

15 Ὀνωφρεῖς ἐξ(ἀγ.) τῇ ιβ' .[...].ρων ὄν(ον) α' [

.....[.]ων ἐξ(ἀγ.) λινοσ(πέριμων) ὄν(ους) η' (ἀρτ.) λβ, ὄσ(πρ.) ε' (δρ.) [

γί(νονται) τῆς ἡ(μέρας) (δρ.) σ... [

ιβ' Παῖσις ἰσάγω(ν) ὀθ(ονίου) .[± 5] ὄν(ους) η' (δρ.) [

Σανσνεῦς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρ.) ὄν(ους) β' (ἀρτ.) η (δρ.) [

20 Ἰσίδωρος ἐξ(ἀγ.) δοκῶν φορ(τία) καμ(ήλων) β' (δρ.) [

Ηρᾶς ἐξ(ἀγ.) ὄσ(πρ.) ὄν(ους) .[± 8].....[

2 λινοκαλ(αμῶν): Flax appears here for the first time as a commodity of export or import.

3 δοκῶν l. φορ(τία), φόρ(τους): see also lines ten and twenty. These are to my knowledge the first references to camel loads of beams.

5 μετὰ γων: The verb does not appear in parallel lists or toll receipts. I am undecided as to its interpretation—whether importing or exporting is intended.

πρὸς ἀπεργ(ασίαν): Cf. P.Merton 20: τετελ(ώνηται) κτλ. Ὀρσενόφης πρὸς ἀπεργ(ασίαν) ὄν(ον) θήλειαν μολ(ήλων) μίαν. See P.Lond. III 929 introd., p. 41; Clauson, *op.cit.*, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 277; P.Oxy. 729.8; BGU 969.23–25 and WB s.v. Perhaps this donkey is being brought to the site of work on a canal?

7 ὄν(ον) α' (ἀρτ.) δ: The normal load in this list is four artabs for dry goods, two *metretai* for oil. But these amounts are not inflexible; see Clauson, *op.cit.*, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 256–7.

11 I have no ready explanation for the insertion of this entry, reporting a transaction on the 12th, in the list of transactions from the 11th.

12 λαχ(): The sign of abbreviation is a horizontal line crossed by an S-shaped stroke; I doubt that any special significance should be attached to it. The choice of expansions lies between λαχ(ανοσπέριμον) as in P.Amh. 117; P.Ryl. 197a; P.Alex. et Giss. 13; BGU 882; and λαχ(άνου) as in P.Fay. 70.

17 γί(νονται) τῆς ἡ(μέρας): Daily summaries are not always a feature of these registers (Clauson, *op.cit.*, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 254).

18 l. εἰσάγω(ν)

ὀθ(ονίου): Linen as an article of import or export appears here for the first time. S. Bartina, "OΘONIA ex papyrorum testimoniis linteamina", *Studia Papyrologica* 4 (1965) 27–38 discusses what sorts of linen goods are intended by this term.

Nr. 2328 Dowry List from a Marriage Contract

P. 21918

mid 5th c. A.D.

6.5 × 6 cm

Verso blank. The light brown square fragment comes from the central portion of a marriage contract; it lacks indeterminable amounts from all four sides. What remains is in good condition. The neat, vertical script most resembles R. Seider, *Paläographie* I, Taf. 25 = P.Hamb. 16 Taf. VI, or M. Norsa, *Scrittura Documentarie*, tav. XX (PSI 1106) (209 and 336 A.D. respectively). One factor, however, speaks for a much later date—the mention in line three of νομίματα παρὰ κεράτια. According to Wilcken, P.Würzb. 17.11 note, these

Nr. 2330 Sale with Advance Payment(?) (Pl. XIII)

P. 21457

Soknopaiu Nesos

14 × 10.5 cm

April 29, 89 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1 cm. Folded at least five times horizontally. The papyrus is dark brown and badly damaged and abraded. The small and rapid hand is probably the same one which wrote BGU 2042 and 2331.

Herieus, son of Panes, agrees to having received from a certain party sixty silver drachmas, either in advance payment for, or in addition to, a certain amount of wheat. Unfortunately, the papyrus is damaged in the critical places, and it is uncertain whether the document records a mixed loan or a sale with advance payment (see l. 12–13 note).

ἔ[το]υς ὀχθόου ο. Αὐτοκράτορος]

[Καί(σαρος)] Δ[ομ]ιτιαν[ο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ [Γ]ερμανικοῦ μην[ός]

Γερμανικίου δευτέρου ἐ[ν] τ[ῇ]

[Σοκνο(παίου)] Νήσου τῆς Ηρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ

5 [Ἀρσινόειον νομ]οῦ· ὁμολογεῖ Εριεῦς Πανῆτος

[... Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τριά[κοντα]

[ὅλη δακ]τύλῳ μέσῳ χειρὸς ἀριστεροῦ

...[...].[.]ι Πακύσιος ὡς [ἐ]τῶν τεσσαράκ[ον-]

[τα...].ρη.....[± 6 ἔ]χε[ι]ν πα[ρ'] αὐ[τῷ]

10 [τοῦ] τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα παραχρῆμα δ[ιὰ] χειρὸς]

[ἐξ οἴκο]ν ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμον Σεβαστοῦ νομίσ-

μα[τος] κε[φαλαίου] δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα [τιμὴν]

πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδόλον ἀρταβ[ῶν].]

μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ θεοῦ Σοκνοπαίου, [ἀς καὶ ἀ-]

15 ποδώσιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα τῷ Π[]

[ἐν μηνὶ Παῦ]ρι τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος] η (ἔτους)]

[ἀνυπερθέτως, γινομένης τῆς πράξεως τῷ δεῖνι]

ἐκ [τε τοῦ Εριέως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ]

πάντων καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ· ὑπογραφ[εὺς] τοῦ δ-]

20 μολ(ογοῦντος) Ἀπολλόνιος Σωτηρίχου ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) κ οδ[λή]]

ἀριστ(ερ-), καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Λεονίδης Ζωίλου [ὡς (ἐτῶν).]

[]ει...[]

2 [Καί(σαρος)]: The word may have been all or partially written above the line.

3 Γερμανικίου: See K. Scott, "Greek and Roman Honorific Months", *YCS* 2 (1931) 241–263.

4 l. Νήσω

6 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: See the study on this term by J. F. Oates, *YCS* 18 (1963) 1–129.

7 l. ἀριστερᾶς

11–12 ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμον κτλ.: See Johnson and West, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton, 1944, p. 68 no. 11.

12–13 [τιμὴν]... ἀρταβ[ῶν]: If the text is so restored, the contract is then a sale with advance payment, unusual in that it states the price paid in advance (Pringsheim, *Sale*, p. 275). If, however, one restores, for example, [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ξ καὶ]... ἀρτάβ[ας], then the transaction becomes a mixed loan. P. Gen. 24 presents a similar problem (Pringsheim, *op. cit.*, p. 279 n. 2).

14–15 l. [ἀ]ποδώσει ὁ ὁμολογῶν: Similar is the error in 2331.13–14 ἀς καὶ ἀποδώσιν ὁ ὁμολογῶν.

19 l. ἐκ

ὑπογραφ[εὺς]: See H. C. Youtie, "Υπογραφεὺς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201–221; "Because They Do Not Know Letters", *ZPE* 19 (1975) 101–108.

Translation: "... Year eight ... of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, on the second of the month Germanikeios, in (Soknopaiu) Nesos, in the division of Heraklides of the (Arsinoite) nome. Herieus, son of Panes, ... a Persian of the Epigone, about thirty years old, (having a scar) on the middle finger of his left hand, acknowledges to N.N., son of Pakysis, about forty ... years old ..., that he the acknowledging party has received from him forthwith (from hand to hand out of the house) the capital sum of sixty drachmas of Augustan minted silver-coinage, the (price?) of ... artabs, in the quarter-measure of Soknopaios the god, of new, pure, unadulterated wheat, (which) the acknowledging party shall deliver to P-, (in the month of Payni) of the present (-th year without delay; the right of execution on demand) against (both Herieus and against) all (his property), as if in consequence of a court decision, (belonging to P-). The subscriber of the acknowledging party is Apollonios, son of Soterichos, about 20 years old, (having a scar on his) left ..., and of the other party, Leonides, son of Zoilos, (about - years old) ..."

Nr. 2331 Loan and Sale with Advance Payment

P. 21458

Soknopaiu Nesos

12.8 × 9.4 cm

March 2, 91 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.8 cm, left 1.5 cm. Six horizontal folds remain; an unknown quantity has broken off from the bottom. The papyrus is dark brown and marred by occasional small holes. Three diagonal lines of cancellation cut across the lower two-thirds of the document. The hand is probably the same which wrote BGU 2042 and 2330.

A certain Panephrimmi acknowledges having received from a certain Pekysis a sum of money in advance payment upon seven and a half artabs of barley and two-fifths of wheat. Panephrimmi also receives from Pekysis one hundred drachmas on loan. That this amount is not the price of the grain is apparent from two considerations. First, the only contracts of deferred delivery which

state the price are all quite late (Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 275, 276 note 2). Second, a comparison of contemporary prices for wheat and barley shows them never to cost more than ten or eleven drachmas per artab (Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 310–312). These artabs, were they to be bought for one hundred drachmas, would cost more than thirteen drachmas apiece.

- ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομετιανοῦ Σεβα(στοῦ) Γερμανικοῦ
μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου ἕκτη Φαμενώ(θ) ς-
ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς Ἡρακλεί-
5 δον μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτον νομοῦ· ὁμολο-
γεῖ Πανεφρίμμης Πανενέως Πέρσης
τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἐν-
ὅς οὐλεῖ πῆχει δεξιῷ Πεκύσι νε(ω)τέρῳ
τ[ο]ῦ Πεκύσεως ὡς ἐτ[ῶν] τεσσαράκοντα οὐ-
10 λ[ει με]τώπων ἐγ δεξιῶν ἔχειν παρ' αὐ-
τοῦ τὸν ὁμολογούντα τιμῆς κριθῆς
καὶ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) διπέμπτων
ἀ[ρτ]αβῶν ἐπὶ ἡμισὺ μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ
καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς [ἐκα]τόν, αἷς καὶ ἀ-
ποδώσιν ὁ ὁμολογῶν τῷ Πεκύσι νε-
15 ωτέρῳ ἐ[ν] μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
[ι εἰ]τους· ἐὰν δ[ὲ] μὴ ἀπ[ο]δοῦ [κα]θ' ἃ γέγρα[πται]
[ἀπ]οτισάτω[ι] [± 10].....[...]
[... χ]ωρὶς ἀλλ[ων ὧν ὀφείλει].v[...]
[...].καὶ εἰδ[...]

3 1. Ἀρτεμισίου: See U. Hagedorn, "Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch makedonischer Monatsnamen in römischer Zeit", *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrologists*, London, 1975, pp. 127–132.

8 οὐλή

9–10 οὐλή, ἐκ

12 διπέμπτων: *addendum lexicis*; cf. modern Greek δύο πέμπτα. I owe the reading of the word to H. Maehler.

14 1. ἀποδόσει: The scribe evidently had in mind the parallel phrase: ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσεται ὁ ὁμολογῶν.

17 [ἀπ]οτισάτω: One expects ἀποτισάτω παραχρῆμα μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκων; however, the space does not suffice. At the end of the line τῶν[ν] might be a possible reading.

18 [χ]ωρὶς ἀλλ[ων κτλ.]: Cf. P. Meyer 7.25 and introd., note 3; P. Mich. 633.30–31 note.

Translation: "The tenth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, on the sixth of the month Artemisios, Phamenoth 6, in Soknopaiou Nesos of the division of Heraklides of the Arsinoite nome. Panephrimmi, son of Panesneus, a Persian of the Epigone, about thirty-one years old, having a

scar on his right forearm, acknowledges to Pekysis the younger, son of Pekysis, about 40 years old, having a scar on his forehead to the right, that he, the acknowledging party, has received from him the price of seven and a half artabs of barley and two-fifths of an artab of wheat by the quarter measure, and one hundred silver drachmas, which the acknowledging party shall deliver to Pekysis the younger in the month Payni of the present (10th) year. If he should not deliver according to the terms written, he shall forfeit . . . apart from whatever else (he owes . . .)"

Nr. 2332 Sale with Advance Payment

P. 21633

27.2 × 12.8 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

November 12, 374 A.D.

Upper margin 2 cm, lower 1 cm, left 1.5 cm. Aside from extensive gaps in the twelfth and thirteenth lines, this papyrus is complete. The script is clearly written in a practiced and vertical hand. In grand strokes in the left margin is the upsilon of ὑπατείας; in a similar style is the alpha of Αὐρήλιος in l. 3. This scribe seems to have taken special pleasure in heading new lines with florid alphas (e.g. 4, 9, 10, 17) which are formed differently from those lying within the text. Filling out right end-line spaces appear expanded nus (13, 14) and sigmas (4, 16 *et passim*), as well as an alpha (21).

Aurelios Hol receives from Flavios Adelphios, *speculator* of the prefect's office in the province of Augustamnica, in advance payment upon a delivery of wine twelve thousand silver talents.

For general discussions of sales with deferred delivery, see Reinach, P. Reinach II 101 introd.; Boak and Youtie, P. Cair. Isid. 90 introd.; Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 268–286; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 336–338; Montevercchi, "Vendite a termine", *Aegyptus* 24 (1944) 131–158. Additional parallels are listed by Maehler in BGU 2176, 2198 introd.

- ὑπατείας δεσποτ(ῶν) ἡμῶν Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γ
(καὶ) Φλ(αουίου) Ἐκνυθίου τοῦ (λαμ)προτάτου κόμιτος Αἰθῆρ ις
Αὐρήλιος Ὁλ Παθινίου μητρὸς
Ἀγώρας ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως
5 καταμένων ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ἀλεξά(νδ)ρου
Φλαουίου Ἀδελφίου σπεκουλάτωρι
τάξεως ἡγεμονίας Α(ὐ)γουσταμνικῆς
χαίρειν· ὁμολογῶ κατὰ τήνδε τήν
ἀσφάλιαν ἐσχεκῆναι παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χιρὸς
10 ἀργυρίου τάλα(ν)ταν μυριάδαν μίαν δισχίλει(α)
ὄν[τα εἰς τ]μῆν οἶνον ἐντο[π]ίου
ἐδαρέστου τῇ[ς εἰ]πὶ τοῦ κερο[ῦ] φαρησομέ(ης)

τιμῆς κουφιζομένην τὸν τρίτον·

καὶ ἐπάνα[γ]κον τὴν ἀπόδωσίν

15 σοι ποιήσω μηνὶ Μεσωρῇ τῆς εἰσιοσ(ης)

τετάρτης νέας ἰνδικτίωνος

ἀνυπερθέτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως

γινομένης) σου τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τ' ἐμοῦ

τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος ἐκ[εκ]τον ὑπαρχον-

20 το μου πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης·

καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολόγησα·

Ἀδρήλιος Ὁλ ὁ προκείμενος) ὁμολογῶ ἐσχη(κ)ῆναι

τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου ταλάντων μυριαν

μίαν δισχί[λι]αι ὄντα εἰς τιμὴν οἴνου κουφιζομένην

25 των τριτων καὶ ἀποδώσω ὡς πρόκειται· Ἀδρήλιος

Ἡρώων Δίου ἐ(γ)γραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φάσκο(ντος)

Verso: χι(ρό)γραφον) Ὁλ ἀπὸ Ἀρ(σινοίτων) πόλεως (ταλάντων) (μυριάδος) αΒ. .νε.:-
ενου

5 ἐποικίῳ 6 Φλαονίῳ Ἀδελφίῳ σπεκουλάτορι 7 ἡγεμονίᾳ 9 ἀσφάλειαν ἐσχηκέναι
10 ταλάντων μυριάδα, δισχίλια 12 καιροῦ 13 κουφιζομένης τῷ τρίτῳ 14 ἀπόδοσιν
15 Μεσωρῇ, εἰσιούσης 16 ἰνδικτίωνος 17 ἀνυπερθέτως 18 σοι 19 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
των 20 μοι πάντων ἐκ 21 ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολόγησα 22 προκείμενος, ἐσχηκέναι 23 τήν,
μυριάδα 24 δισχίλια 25 τῷ τρίτῳ 27 χειρόγραφον

1 The usual formula reads ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀδγούστου τὸ γ
(P. Oslo 38.1-2; P. Flor. 95.2, 17).

3 Ὁλ: The name is probably a variant of Ὡρ (P. Cair. Isid. 97.4 note; Youtie, "Parerga
Ostracologica", *TAPA* 73 (1942) 77) = *Scriptiunculae* I, Amsterdam, 1973, pp. 173-191.
Παθνίον: This variant of *Παθνίς* is new.

4 Ἀγώρας: P. Abinn. 69.34 is the only other attestation to the name.

5 ἐποικίον Ἀλεξάνδρου: Cf. Wessely, *Topographie*, p. 32.

6 σπεκουλάτορι: Cf. P. Mich. 469.24; 472.16; P. Cair. Isid. 127.1 notes; Pauly-Wissowa,
Realencyklopaedie, 2. Reihe, Bd. III s.v. Originally spies, messengers and undercover
agents in the standing army of the Caesars the *speculatores* belonged to the com-
mander's *officium* in the rank of *principalis*. Acting later as executioners (the beheader
of John the Baptist was a *speculator*, *Ev. Marc.* 6.27), the *speculatores* of a legion, or of
several legions, formed a *schola* among themselves and served as bodyguards. Accord-
ing to the evidence of P. Cair. Isid. 127, P. Oxy. 1223 and P. Oslo 88 they seem also
by this time to have been in part officers of provision.

7 Ἀ(δ)γουνσταμνική: This province, created in 341 A.D. and consisting of the former
Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes, corresponded roughly to the
earlier Herculia province (J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, Brussels,
1964, p. 53).

10 This sale belongs to the small group of contracts wherein only the price is recorded —
the measure of goods to be delivered being calculated from the current price (Monte-
vecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 134). However, for lack of exact parallels it is difficult to ascertain
how much was in transaction here. For wine prices of the fourth century, see L. Casson,
"Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt", *TAPA* 70 (1939) 1-16.

11 εἰς τιμὴν: The phrase is peculiar to late contracts of deferred delivery (Pringsheim,
op. cit., pp. 282-283). Similar phrasing with regard to the nature of payment is found
in SB 4496; SPP III 123; PSI 239; P. Lond. I 113.6c (p. 216).

12-13 I am indebted to H. Maehler for the successful decipherment of two lines which
taxed our ingenuities for no little time. The interpretation, however, is thereby
scarcely elucidated, for the last phrase *κουφιζομένης τῷ τρίτῳ* is without parallel.
Two explanations lend themselves for consideration: 1) the price has been reduced
because of the deferred delivery; that is to say, were the transaction immediately
consummated, Aurelios Hol could have demanded the full price. Since it is not, he
has to take a cut rate. 2) Perhaps this grain is a requisition for the army, therefore
sold to it at a reduced price.

20 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: H. J. Wolff in "Some Observations on *Praxis*", *Proceedings of the
Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, Toronto, 1970, pp. 527-535, presents the
hypothesis that this phrase guarantees the creditor "the habitual way of enforcing
claims", despite the disappearance (ca. 200 B.C.) of the institution where claims were
traditionally presented.

26 φάσκο(ντος): One expects φάσκο(ντος) μὴ εἶδέναι γράμματα as in P. Flor. 3.25; 383.72;
P. Amh. 106.8; however, the widely scrawled script of this last line seems to conform
to no version of this formula. O. M. Pearl has suggested reading φάσκο(ντος) ἀγρ(ά)μ-
ματ(ον) εἶ(ναι).

Translation: "In the third consulate of our lord Gratianus Augustus and of
Flavius Equitius, his most illustrious colleague, the 16th of Hathyr. Aurelios
Hol, son of Pathinios and Agora, of Arsinoitōn polis residing on the farmstead
of Alexander, to Flavios Adelphios, *speculator* of the prefect's office in the
province Augustamnica, greetings. I acknowledge that in accordance with the
present agreement I have received from you in cash twelve thousand talents of
silver, being the current price of local, good wine, reduced by one-third, and I
shall necessarily make the delivery to you in the month of Mesore in the
coming new fourth indiction without delay. You shall have the right of execu-
tion on demand both against me, the acknowledging party, and against all my
property, as one does when bringing a case. In response to the formal question
I have so declared. I, Aurelios Hol, the aforementioned, acknowledge that I
have received twelve thousand talents of silver, being the price of wine,
reduced by one-third, and I shall deliver it as has been agreed. I, Aurelios
Heron, son of Dios, have written for him since he says (that he is illiterate).
(Verso) Chirograph of Hol from Arsinoiton polis, 12,000 talents . . ."

Nr. 2333 Sale of a Crop

P. 21705

14.3 × 10.6 cm

Arsinoitōn polis

143/144 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.5 cm, left 1.5 cm. The first line is separated from
the second by a space of 1.3 cm. The upper right corner of the light brown
papyrus is missing, and lines are occasionally rubbed and worn, but for the
most part the readings are clear. Pasion offers to rent from Ptolemais an
orchard for one harvest season, in return for which he will reap the produce and

therefrom pay the rent. Although this type of transaction is common and usually offers few problems in interpretation, this particular text is noteworthy for its preservation of the word ἐπιχύμα (l. 13), which has heretofore appeared only in P. Ryl. 97 and P. Med. 49.

For discussion and parallels see F. Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 298ff.; J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 224ff.

- Πτολεμαῖς Πυ[]
 παρὰ Πασίωνος [τοῦ δεινός ἀπὸ ἀμ-]
 φόδου Ὡρίωνος [Τερακείου· βοόλομαι μισ-]
 θώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ [τοῦ ἐπικειμένου]
 5 καὶ ἐκπεπρωκό[τας εἰς τ]ὸ ἐν[ε]στῶτος
 ἔκτον ἔτους Ἀ[ντωνεῖνο]ν Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου ἐλαικός [καρπός] τοῦ ὑπάρχον-
 τός σου ἐλαιῶνος []. λεγομένου
 περὶ Λαγίδος Ἡρ[ακλείδου] μερίδος ἀρου-
 10 ρον δεκα[ε]ξ ἡ[μισυ] τρίτο]ν φόρον ἐλαί-
 ου ἐλαίνου νέον [καθαροῦ ἀδ]όλου ὕλιστοῦ
 μετρητῶν τριῶν . . [] καὶ ἐλαίας ἐγλε-
 κτῆς ἀρταβῶν δύο καὶ ἐπιχύματος ἐκάσ-
 [τῷ μετρητῇ]] καὶ των τινα-
 15 γμὸν ποιήσομαι διὰ δι[α]φνον καὶ καλὰ[μ-]
 ων καὶ συνκλείσω ἕως μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ
 τριακάδος βλάβος μηδὲν ποιού(μενος) καὶ τὸ ἔ-
 [λαιον καὶ τῇ]ν ἔλῃαν ἐν τῷ κτήμα(τι) μετρο
 [± 8] . . . ρ[.] . . . εως ἐὰν φένητ(αι)
 20 [μισθῶσαι ὡς π]ρόκειται· ἔτους ἔκτον
 [Ἀντοκράτ]ορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Ἑλλίου
 [Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντ]ωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ

1 Πτολεμαῖδι, -αίω 5 ἐνεστὸς 6 ἔτος 8 σοι 9 Λαγίδα 10 ἀρουρῶν 12 ἐκλεκτῆς
 14 τόν 15 διαφνῶν 16 συγκλείσω 18 ἐλαίαν 19 φαίνεται 21 Αἰλίου

2-3 ἀμ[φ]όδου Ὡρίωνος [Τερακείου]: This amphodon is in Arsinoitōn polis (Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, p. 38).

3ff. The restorations are derived from PSI 33.

4-5 Because olives were harvested in October and November (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 308ff.), this lease was written sometime between September (Thoth) and October (Phaophi) of 143 A.D.

5-6 εἰς τὸ ἐνεστῶτος . . . ἔτους: The same error appears in BGU 862.9: εἰς τὸ ὀκτοκαιδέκατον ἔτους.

9 Λαγίδος: This town is hitherto unattested; the only other one with this name is not in the division of Heraklides but in the division of Themistes: P. Lille 11; P. Tebt. II

App. II § 5 s.v. For the use of identical village names in different divisions, see Hagedorn-Youtie, P. Petaus, p. 25.

13 ἐπιχύματος: Until now this word had appeared twice: P. Med. 49.1; P. Ryl. 97.5. For the derivation see Johnson *et al.*, P. Ryl. 97 introd. and l. 5 note.

15 διὰ διαφνῶν: In P. Ryl. 97.7 the editors translate it "by divisions". This is the literal meaning of the word as given in LSJ. However, Preisigke WB and LSJ s.v. III prefer another more metaphorical interpretation—"string basket, reticule". This definition may not be far from reality, since Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 309f., mentions the use of baskets in harvesting olives.

διὰ . . . καλὰ[μ]ων: Whereas in P. Ryl. 97.7 the harvest is performed by beating the branches with reeds (κατασπασμός), papyrological sources more often mention shaking the trees (τιναγμός, ἐκτιναγμός). Varro, *de re rustica* I 55, condones the former practice when the fruit lies beyond the hands' grasp, while the author of *Geoponica* IX 17.6 deprecates it (Schnebel, *op. cit.*, p. 310).

17-18 καὶ τὸ ἔ[λαιον καὶ τῇ]ν ἔλῃαν: Instead of a money payment, the rent is returned in kind (l. 10); hence the restoration suggested by H. Maehler seems appropriate.

18 ἐν τῷ κτήμα(τι): Cf. CPR 45.18ff.: τὸν δὲ φόρον ἀποδώσω καὶ τὰ ἐξέλῃα ἐν τῷ κτήματι.

18-19 l. μέτρον [ἐξαχοινί]αφ ἐρμηνέως?: The readings are anything but certain, a verb is missing after the last καί, and one expects with the designation of this measure the name of the particular village where it was valid. Cf. 2341.6-7.

Translation: "To Ptolemais, son (or daughter?) of Py-, from Pasion, son of N.N., from the quarter of (the Hierakion) of Horion. (I want) to lease from you the olive (produce growing) and maturing (in) the present sixth year of (Antoninus) Caesar the lord in your olive grove, measuring 16(5/8) aruras, in the so-called . . . at Lagis in the division of Heraclides, at the rental rate of three . . . metretai of new, (pure), genuine, strained olive oil and two artabs of choice olives and . . . of extra oil per (measure). I shall effect the harvest by baskets (?) and reeds and shall complete it by the thirtieth of the month Hadrianos, doing no damage. (I shall measure?) the (oil and the) olives on the property with the six-choinin measure of the broker(?), if you consent to (the lease as) it stands. The sixth year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius (Hadrianus) Antoninus Augustus . . ."

Nr. 2334 Sale of Coarse Barley Meal on Credit

P. 21590

Fayum

fg. a: 5.8 × 14.2 cm

February 4, 304 A.D.

fg. b: 3.5 × 14.2 cm

Left margin 1.5 cm. The light brown papyrus is in a good state of preservation, although it exists in two fragments, between which a lacuna of two lines intervenes. The script is small and upright. Lines are evenly parallel and well-spaced, except for the end of line eleven, where the *stipulatio* formula is crammed into the remaining room. Striking is the total absence of any verso fibers, which have at some time become loosened and fallen away.

Aurelios Paus sells to Aurelios Apollon on credit two baskets of coarse barley meal. Apart from one rare word the transaction is of a common type and presents no peculiarities.

See Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 244–268; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 338–339, for this type of contract.

- Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπόλλων Διδύμων μητρὸς [Ἀ]ρσινόης ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ[ι](ρᾶς)
καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὀξυρυν'χειτῶν πόλεως Ἀυρηλίῳ Πασῶτι καὶ ὡς
χρηματίζει ἀπὸ Δίννεως τοῦ Ἀρσινότου νομοῦ χαίρει(ν).
ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν σὺν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡγόρασα κα[ὶ] ἐβ[άσταξα]
5 κρ[ίμ]νον ψειέθων δύο ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσμα-
τος τάλαντα δέκα καὶ δραχμὰς τρεισχειλείας (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) ι (δραχμαί) Ἰ',
ἅπερ ἀποδώσω σὺν τῷ Παχῶν [μη]νὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
κ' καὶ ιβ' ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας
[γνωμένης σοι τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-]
10 [των μοι πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρόγρα]φ[ον πανταχῇ ἐπιφε-]
ρόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
(ἔτους) κ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Μεχρὶ θ'·
15 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπόλλων Διδύμων ὀφίλω ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κρ[ίμ]νον

4 σοι 6 τρισχιλίας 7 σοι 8 εὐρησιλογίας 15 ὀφείλω

- 5 κρ[ίμ]νον: Aside from a few classical sources the word is known from two other papyri:
P. Ryl. 280 and P. Lugd.-Bat. XIII 5.10.
ψειέθων (var. ψιάθος, dim. ψιάθιον): The earliest papyrological attestation for a usage
of this word which differs from the more traditional one of "reed-mat" is P. Cair.
Zen. 430 and 518. Although this definition continues to obtain in many instances,
alongside it the word appears to mean also "reed-basket"—since reed mats in their
usual form are highly unsuited for carrying dry goods such as wool or barley. The word
has no metrological connotations, for of the eleven instances where it is read, only two
mention a volume or weight in connection with it: BGU 812 I 5,8 where a *psiathos*
of barley weighs two *litres*, and P. Lugd.-Bat. XI 1 where a *psiathos* holds 1 cwt. of
charcoal.
Passages where *psiathos*, *psiathion* mean "basket": P. Cair. Zen. 430 (3rd c. B.C.), 518;
P. Tebt. 112.23 (2nd c. B.C.); BGU 812 I 5,8 (2nd/3rd c. B.C.); P. Ryl. 627.127,128
(317–323 A.D.); P. Lugd.-Bat. XI 1.19 (338 A.D.); P. Baden 29.7 (404 A.D.);
P. Apoll. 93 A 11 note (703–715 A.D.); P. Lond. 928.10 (2nd c. A.D.); O. Tait 2366.2
(Roman); P. Beatty Panop. 1.121, 161 (298 A.D.). The interpretation of the last three
is uncertain.
6 For a list of prices paid for barley in the early 4th century, see Johnson and West,
Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies, Princeton, 1946, pp. 175ff.; as well as P. Cair.
Isid. 28; P. Oxy. 2421.

- 11 Above the initial epsilon in ἐπιφέροντι is a long vertical trace with a hook on the end.
The supposition that this is a phi leads to the conjectural restoration of two lines (9–10)
whose wording is so formulaic that the intent of the lines cannot be mistaken even if
the proposed reconstruction does not exactly reproduce what was once written.
ὁμολόγησα: The word is written below the end of the line. A recent treatment of the
stipulatio clause is E. Seidl, "Die Stipulatio im ägyptischen Provinzialrecht", *Studi in
onore di G. Scherillo* II, Milan, 1972, pp. 627–633.

Translation: "Aurelios Apollon, son of Didymos and Arsinoe, of the illustrious
and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelios Paus, and however
else he is styled, of Dinnys of the Arsinoite nome, greetings. I acknowledge that
I owe you for the two baskets of coarsely ground barley, which I bought and
took away, ten talents and three thousand drachmas in silver imperial coins,
total 10 talents 3000 drachmas, which I shall pay in the month Pachon of the
present 20th and 12th year without delay or excuse, (while you have the right
of execution upon me and all my goods. This document is valid wherever it is
presented) and for everyone presenting it on your behalf. In answer to the
question I have given my assent.

The 20th year of our Lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and the 12th year
of our Lords Constantius and Maximian, the most outstanding Caesars,
Mechir the 9th.

I, Aurelios Apollon, son of Didymos, owe the price of coarsely ground
barley . . ."

Nr. 2335 Receipt for the Sale of a Calf

P. 21921
9.5 × 11.6 cm

42/43 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 35 cm, upper 1.3 cm. Portions of this light brown
papyrus to the right are either abraded or missing entirely. The script is large
and crude.

Pene- acknowledges to Stotoetis, son of Tesenuphis, that he has received the
full price for a brown calf which the latter has bought from him.

Transactions involving calves are relatively infrequent. Several sales include
calves among other livestock (Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 232 list). Sources for
the prices commanded by calves are likewise meager: P. Hamb. 173 (241 B.C.)
540 copper drachmas for two calves; P. Mert. 86 (296 A.D.) 6600 drachmas
for one calf.

Πενε...[...][...]
Στοτοῆτι Τεσε[νοῦ]-
φ... χ[αί]ρε[ι]ν ὁμολογῶ
πεπρακαίνε σοι [τόν]

- 5 ὑπάρχοντά μοι μό[σ-]
 χον πυρόν τοῦτον το[ι-]
 οὔτον ἀν[α]πόριφον
 καί ἀπέχω τήν [πᾶ-]
 σαν τιμήν καί β[εβαι-]
 10 [ώσω πάση βεβαιώσει]
 τῷ [Στοτοῆτι ? ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται]
 (ἔτους) γ Τιβερ[ί]ου Κλαυ-
 τίου Καίσαρος [Σεβασ-]
 τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Α[δ-]
 15 τοκράτορος []
 κ-

2-3 Τεσε[νου]φ... From the paternal name only the faded upper portions of letters remain.

4 1. πεπρακέναι

12-13 1. Κλαυδίου

Translation: "Pene-... to Stotoetis, son of Tesenuphis, greetings. (I acknowledge) that I have irrevocably sold to you the brown calf belonging to me, such as it is, and I have received the entire price and (guarantee it to Stotoetis(?) with every guarantee as aforementioned). Year 3 of Tiberius (Claudius) Caesar (Augustus) Germanicus Emperor, (month) 20."

Nr. 2336 Receipt for Sale of Livestock

P. 25119
 10.8 × 9.5 cm

Alexandru Nesos
 August 8, 208 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.3 cm, lower 3-3.5 cm, right 1.5-2 cm. Folded five times vertically. To the right the light brown papyrus is almost intact, but towards the left it is increasingly damaged by worm holes. The first hand is a small fluid cursive. The second is large and crude.

A septuagenarian from Arsinoitōn polis sells to Apynchis a mouse-colored animal in the market at Alexandru Nesos and receives 120 drachmas for it. Although the object of sale is lost from the text it is interesting to note that the first half of the receipt, inclusive of the verb, was prepared ahead of time and the individual transaction was written in by a second hand (cf. P.Lond. II, pp. 196-7).

From the evidence of 2275 and 2293 we know that the sale of livestock in the market place at Alexandru Nesos was subject to a ten-percent sales tax and another charge called *epistateia*, undoubtedly a service-fee paid to the tax-supervisors. Although this transaction makes no mention of such imposts, it

was in all probability conducted under the supervision of the *epistatai* of the agora—who had these blank receipt forms drawn up in advance—and likewise duly taxed.

- [ἔτ]ους ις Α[ου]κ[ί]ου [Σεπτ]ιμίου Σεουήρου
 [] Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μάρκου
 [Αδ]ρηλίου Αντωνείνου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ(οῦ)
 [καὶ Π]ο[υ]πλείου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 5 [Μεσορ]ή ιζ· ἐν ἀγορᾷ Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Νήσου πέπρακεν
 (m. 2) []ίων Ηρατίωνος ἀπὸ ἀμφόδ-
 [ου...]. . . αλη() ὡς ἐτῶν ο' οὐκ ἂν
 [τικνη]μὶν δεξ(ι)ῷ Ἀπύνχης Ἀπύνχης
 [...]. . . μνόχρουν τιμῇ(ς) (δραχμῶν) ρκ

4 Πουβλίον 6 Ηραδίωνος 8 Ἀπύνχι Ἀπύνχεως 9 μνόχρουν

1-2 The titulature is peculiar in that Σεβαστός appears among the titles of Severus. I find no such anomaly listed in Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*. In the lacuna one would expect either Εἰσεβοῦς or Περτινάκος.

9 In the lacuna may have stood [ἑπο]ν, [πῶλο]ν, [ῥο]ν. From the price alone it is difficult to conclude what sort of animal is here in transaction. For the prices commanded by various animals in 2nd and 3rd century Egypt, see H. Maehler, BGU 2049 introd.; O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 42ff.; additional documents are listed in her *Papirologia*, Turin, 1973, p. 212.

Translation: "Year 16 of Lucius Septimius Severus . . . Augustus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar Augustus (and) Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Mesore 17. In the market place of Alexandru Nesos sold (Hd. 2) —ion, son of Heradion, from the quarter of . . ., about 70 years old with a scar on his right shin, to Apynchis, son of Apynchis, a mouse-colored . . . for the price of 120 dr."

Nr. 2337 Loan

P. 21704
 16 × 17.5 cm

Nilopolis
 June 15, 46 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm; intercolumnar space 2.5 cm. The light brown papyrus has lost portions from the left and bottom. To the left it is abraded and damaged by larger holes, whereas the right half is relatively intact. To the right has been attached a strip of papyrus about 3 cm wide. A rough cursive script, rife with misspellings, borders at times on the illegible.

Apynchis of Nilopolis loans to Herieus, son of Ptolemais, the sum of one hundred drachmas, which Herieus will repay in Phamenoth of the next year. The penalties and subscriptions are lost.

The presence of a fragmentary demotic record of a house sale to the left of this loan suffices to group the document with similar bilingual contracts (*e.g.* P. Ryl. 160c,d) wherein the house sale and loan are actually part and parcel of the same transaction, an *ωνή εν πίστει*. According to parallels, in the demotic part one would expect Herieus to "sell" his house to Apynchis. Upon repayment of the loan, the deed of sale would become null and void. Failure to repay the loan resulted in the creditor's acquisition of the debtor's property as well as various penalty sums and penalty provisions regulated by the individual contracts (see Johnson and Martin, P. Ryl. 160c, introd.). Here, however, the fragmentary line ends are too damaged and too incomplete to make a proper assessment of their content. K.-T. Zauzich has transcribed and translated them as follows:

h3.t-sp {h3.t-sp} 6[	Regierungsjahr 6 [
Kjsrs .....[	Kaisar[
i.ir-mh p3 'ntr p3 sr p3 ntr' ...[	welcher erobert, des Gottes, des Sohnes des Gottes (?), ...[
[S]bk T3-m3j .....[	Suchos Die Insel[
5 nb w' b .....[	... Herr der Reinheit ...[
[...]..... 'Iw=f-nh .....[	[...]..... Apynchis[
[...]lj .....[	.....
[...]swn .....[	[...] Preis[
.....[.....[
10 'ibbtj' .....[	Osten (?)[
t3 hnj [...] .....[	der Kanal[
'n3j=s hj.w n [...] .....[	seine Ausmaße[
'imntj' ibbtj 't3 hr' [...] .....[	Westen (?) und) Osten: die Straße (?) [
[...][.....
15 ht[	Geld
...[.....
...[.....

ἔτους ἕκτον Τιβερίου Κλαυδί(ου)
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο[ῦ]
 Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Παῦνι κα
 Λύστρου ἐν Νείλ(ου) πόλῃ τῆς Ἡρακ(λ)-
 5 εἶδον μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτον
 νομοῦ· ἐδάνησεν Ἀπύγχις
 ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα οὐλ(ή) πηχ... ἀρισ(τερῶ)
 [...ερ] Ἐριεῦς Πτολμαῖς Πέρσης
 τῆς ἐπ[ι]κονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τρι[ά-]
 10 κοντα οὐλ(ή) πηχίς ἀρι[(στερῶ)] μέ[σ]φ [ἀπ]έ-

χει παρὰ αὐτοῦ παραχοῆμα
 διὰ χοιρὸς ἐξ ηκο κεφαλείου
 κε Πτολεμαίου νομίσ(ματος) δραχ-
 μὰς ἑκατὸν ο α εληφ. ...

- 15 παρ' αὐτοῦ παραχοῆμα
 τόκου ὡς ἐκ δραχμῆς .
 τῇ μνη μῆνα ἕκαστον
 ἂς καὶ ἀποδώσει ὁ δεῖδα(νεισμένος)
 Ἀπύγχις Νε...ετον Φαμεν(ὠθ)
 20 τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐβδόμον (ἔτους)
 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Γε[ρ]μανι[κοῦ] Αὐτοκράτορος κ.
 ἀρε[]

4 πόλει 6 ἐδάνεισεν 8 Ἐριεῦτι Πτολεμαίου Πέρση 9 ἐπιγονῆς 10 πήχει 12 χειρὸς,
 οἶκον, κεφαλαῖον 18 δεδανεισμένος 19 Ἀπύγχι

- 3 Παῦνι κα: This is a hopeless series of squiggles and loops.
 4 Λύστρου: Equated with several different months, among them Payni which might
 be read in line three. See also 2331.3 note.
 6 Ἀπύγχις: written over an erasure. His father's name has been omitted (see l. 19).
 7 πηχ...: written over an erasure and very unclear.
 8 [...ερ]: Several letters have been written over one another.
 12 διὰ: written over something else.
 13 κε: Perhaps the scribe began to write κεφαλαῖον a second time, then without cancelling
 his error continued with the proper formula. According to the pattern one expects
 κεφαλαῖον ἀργυρίου Πτολεμαίου νομίσματος δραχμὰς κτλ.
 14 ο α: These may be the singular and plural neuter relative pronouns with either κεφαλαῖον,
 or more inaccurately δραχμὰς, imagined as antecedents. On the other hand, omicron may
 be the correct singular relative and alpha may belong to ἀ(π)εληφ... This last word
 seems more than just a simple ἀπέληφεν, but the exact reading remains inscrutable.
 15 παραχοῆμα: The word ends in an ambiguous zigzag line.
 16 Following δραχμῆς one expects μᾶς, *e.g.* P. Ryl. 160d II 12. Perhaps simply alpha
 was written.
 20 τοῦ εἰσιόντος: An indistinguishably uniform series of squiggles.
 22-23 The usual phrasing calls for ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώσω κτλ.

Translation: "The sixth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus
 Emperor, Payni 21 (?), Dystros, in Nilopolis in the division of Heraklides in
 the Arsinoite nome. Apynchis, about thirty years old and having a scar on his
 left forearm, has lent to Herieus, son of Ptolemaios, a Persian of the Epigone,
 about thirty years old and having a scar on his left mid-forearm (?), (who
 acknowledges that) he has received forthwith from him, hand to hand out of
 his house, the capital sum of one hundred drachmas of Ptolemaic coinage, at an
 interest of one drachma per mina per month, which the borrower will repay to
 Apynchis, son of Ne-, in Phamenoth of the coming seventh year of Tiberius
 Claudius Caesar Germanicus Emperor ..."

Nr. 2338 Receipt for Repayment of Antichretic Loan (Pl. XIV)

P. 21480
11 × 7.5 cm

Philadelphia
ca. 176 A.D.

Verso blank. The papyrus is light brown and broken off on three sides. Except for the last six lines which are badly abraded, damages and breaks in the portion of the text remaining are few and inconsequential.

A certain Nemesianos certifies that he has received the sum of five hundred and twenty-eight drachmas, which he loaned to Lucius Ignatius Casianus of Philadelphia (already known from BGU 1574). Instead of interest, Nemesianos has been allowed the usufruct (here in a new word *δανιοκαρπία*) of two aruras belonging to his debtor. Apart from the identity of Lucius Ignatius Casianus and the appearance of a new word, this so-called antichretic loan differs little from others of its type.

On antichretic loans in general, and for a list of parallels, see Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 288–291; Maehler, BGU 2121 introd.; A. E. Samuel, "Six Papyri from Hamilton College", *JJP* 13 (1961) 33ff.

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- [ἐτῶν πεντ]ήκοντα τεσ<σ>άρων [
[ἀριστε]ρᾷ Λουκίῳ Ἰγνατίῳ Κασί[ανῷ ὡς]
[ἐτῶν κο]ντα ὀκτώ εὐσήμῳ ὀφθαλμ[ὸν]
[δεξιὸν ἀπέχ]ειν παρὰ αὐτοῦ τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα
5 [± 5 Νεμε]σιανὸν διὰ χ<ε>ρὸς ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς
[πεντακοσί]ας εἴκοσι ὀκτώ οὐσας ἴσας ὧν ἐδανί-
[σατο παρ' αὐτ]οῦ κατὰ δημόσιον χρηματισμὸν
[τελειωθέντα] διὰ τοῦ ἐνθάδε ἀρχ<ε>ίου τῷ προδιελη-
[λυθότι . (ἔτει) ἔ]χων ἐπὶ δανιοκαρπία ἀντὶ τῶν
10 [τόκων τὰς ὑπ]αρχούσας αὐτῷ περὶ κώμην Φι-
[λαδέλφειαν] ἐκ τ[ό]που Περίκα λεγομένου κλήρου
[ἀρο]ύραις δυσι καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι
[μὴδ' αὐτὸν Ν]εμεσιαν<ὸν> μὴδὲ τοὺς παρὰ αὐ-
[τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰγνατί]ου Κασί<α>νὸν μὴδ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
15 [παρὰ αὐτοῦ μ]ὴδὲ περὶ ὧν ἀπέσχετο ὡς πρό-
[κει(ται) ἀργ]υρίου δραχ(μῶν) πεντακοσίων εἴκοσι ὀκ[τ]ῶ μὴδὲ
[περὶ] . π καρπία . μὴδὲ περὶ ἄλλ-
[ου μὴδενὸς ἀπλ]ῶς πράγματος ἐγγράπτου ἢ
[ἀγγράφου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμ]π[ρο]σθ[εν] χρόνων μέχρι
20 [τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας τρόπῳ μὴδενὶ κτλ.]
-

2 Pap. *Ἰγνατίου*: Lucius Ignatius Casianus is already known from BGU 1574.2 (Philadelphia, 176/7 A.D.) where he presents a petition to the strategos.

3 εὐσήμῳ l. ὀφθαλμὸν: A. Caldara, *L'indicazione*, p. 70, notes that this designation appears only in the absence of any other scars and probably indicates a diseased condition of the eye, or the appearance of scars within the eye.

4 [δεξιὸν]: ἀριστερόν is probably too large for the lacuna.

8 ἀρχ<ε>ίου: See the discussion of the word in Preisigke, *Griewesen*, pp. 274–276.

9 δανιοκαρπία: addendum *lexicis*; cf. μισθοκαρπία, a *hapax* in P.Lips. 10 II 9, 32 and Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s. v.

11 l. Περίκα: This *topos* is new. Similar designations of *topoi* in *kleroi* include SB 4661.2; 4878.2, 4; BGU 303.12.

12 l. ἀρούρας δύο

15 l. περί

17 . . . καρπία . ν: From the few remaining flecks of ink I find it impossible to say whether or not δανιοκαρπίων should perhaps be read.

Translation: "(Nemesianos about) fifty-four (years old with a scar on his) left . . . (acknowledges) to Lucius Ignatius Casianus (about) –8 (years old) and having a conspicuous (right) eye that the acknowledging party, Nemesianos, has received from him from hand to hand (five hundred) twenty eight silver drachmas, being equal to what he (Ignatius) borrowed (from him) according to a publicly registered contract, (executed) through the record office there in the year before last (–th year), holding for usufruct, instead of (interest), two aruras belonging to him (from) a parcel in the tract called Perdikas . . . near the village Philadelphia, and that (neither) the acknowledging party, Nemesianos (himself), nor any of his representatives will proceed (against) Ignatius Casianus or (any of his representatives), regarding neither the five hundred twenty eight (silver drachmas) which he has received as stated above, nor . . . , nor any other thing whatever, written or (unwritten, in the) past down to (the present day in any manner) etc."

Nr. 2339 Loan of Grain

P. 21586
9.5 × 9.5 cm

Oxyrhynchos
January 5, 378 A.D.

Upper margin 0.6 cm. Only the upper half of this light brown papyrus remains. From the left is missing a narrow strip; otherwise it is in good condition and covered with writing in a heavy, yet practiced script.

Aurelios Papnuthis acknowledges to Aurelios Apollonios that he has received from him on loan six and five-eighths artabs of wheat.

In itself the transaction offers nothing striking. However, it is valuable for preserving the latest dated attestation on papyrus to the office of *juridicus*—the latest heretofore being P. Abinn. 63 (350 A.D.) and P. Ryl. 654 (before 362 A.D.). The official competence of the position, however, plays no role in the transaction; Aurelios Apollonios, *ex-juridicus*, is simply one of the parties to the loan.

On the verso, parallel to the fibers but almost too faded to be visible and written in a slightly more refined style are two lines which probably refer to the loan recorded on the recto: the measure of six and more artabs appears twice.

- [ἐπατείας τῶν δ]εσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος
[τὸ ς' καὶ Οὐάλεν]τινιανο[ῦ] τὸ β' τῶν αἰωνίων
[Ἀδγού]στων Τῦβι ι
[Ἀδρ(ηλίω) Ἀ]πολλωνίω ἀπὸ δικαιοδοτῶν
5 [καὶ] γεουχοῦντι ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρρυγίτη
[Ἀδρ(ήλιος) Π]απνοῦθις Παησίον ἀπὸ κώμης
[. . .]. πάγον τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀξυρρυγίτου
[χαίρει]ν· ὁμολογῶ ἐσχημέναι
[καὶ μ]εμετρηῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσι
10 [πυρο]ῦ σὺν διαφόρῳ ἀρτάβας
[ἔξ L ἢ (γίνονται)] (ἀρτάβαι) ς L ἢ κεφαλαίον ἐκ τρίτου
[ὄν κ]αὶ γέρον [καθαροῦ]ν ἄδ[ο]λον

9 χρήσει 10 διαφόρῳ

- 4 [Ἀνρηλίω Ἀ]πολλωνίω: P. Michael. 31 (4th c. A.D.) also from Oxyrhynchus mentions an "Apollonios, *ex-juridicus*", with whom this Apollonios may be tentatively identified. Literature on *juridici* includes: J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, p. 145; R. Kupiszewski, "The Juridicus Alexandreae", *JJP* 7-8 (1954) 187-207.
5 In P. Oxy. 1973.3, similar phrasing leaves no space between the man's official title and his designation as a land owner.
7 J. πάγον: One expects a very short village name and the number of the pagus in which it was located. On the pagi, see Lallemand, *op. cit.*, pp. 97ff.
8-9 ἐσχημέναι κτλ.: Cf. P. Oxy. 1040.7-8: ἐσχημέναι καὶ παραμεμετρηῆσθαι.
10 σὺν διαφόρῳ: The phrase appears only in loans *in natura* from Oxyrhynchus (N. Lewis, "The Meaning of σὺν ἡμισλίᾳ and Kindred Expressions in Loan Contracts", *TAPA* 76 (1945) 128 n. 11).
11 ἐκ τρίτου: The interest payment was usually one-half, but one-third was not unknown (P. Oxy. 1474.18 note; 1640.7 note). The principal here is 4-31/32 art., the interest 1-21/32 art.
12 [ὄν] scil. πυρόν: Cf. P. Col. inv. n. 166 (ined.): ὅνπερ πυρόν . . . ἀποδώσω (cited by Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 129).

Translation: "(In the consulate of) our lords Valens (for the 6th time and) Valentinianus for the 2nd time, the eternal Augusti, Tybi the 10th. (To Aurelios) Apollonios, *ex-juridicus* (and) landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome, (from Aurelios) Papnuthis, son of Paesios, from the village of . . . in the -th pagus of the same Oxyrhynchite nome, (greetings). I acknowledge that I have received (and) had measured from you on loan (six and 5/8) artabs of (wheat) including interest, (totals) 6 5/8 art., comprising the principal with interest at one-third, (which) I shall pay back in new, (pure), unadulterated . . ."

Nr. 2340 Lease of Land

P. 21898
13.5 × 5 cm

Oxyrhynchus
early 3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown with a swathe of darker brown horizontal fibers measuring 3.5 cm, three quarters down its length. From the left is missing a strip 3-6 letters wide, as well as a larger section from the upper left corner. From the bottom the section containing the signatures and date has broken off. The hand is small, neat and practiced.

Aurelios Pauta has leased to Aurelios Paesis some land for which the latter will pay the rent in money. The sections mentioning the amount of land and the price at which it was leased, as well as the location of the holding, are abraded so badly as to be illegible. Were it for these considerations alone the papyrus would be of little interest. However, the same Aurelios Pauta is known from another document in the Berlin collection (see line 1 note).

Leases of the Roman period from the Oxyrhynchite nome are listed by Bell and Roberts in P. Merton 17 introd. and Roberts, P. Oxy. 2351 introd.

- [ἐμισθώσεν Ἀδ]ρήλιος Παῦτα
[. . .] ἀπ' Ὀξυρρυγίων
[πόλεως Ἀδρηλί]ω Παήσει Παμου-
[. . .] κιος ἀπὸ τῆς
5 [αὐτῆς πόλ]εω[ς] περὶ [ς μ]όνον τὸ ἐνε-
[στός . . . (ἔτος)] τὰς ὑπα[ρχού]σας αὐτῷ
[περὶ Με]ρμέρθα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
[καὶ . . .] .α. .ου κλήρου ἀρούρας
[τέσσαρ]ας ὥστε ξυλαμῆσαι χλ[ω]ρο[ῖς]
10 [φόρον] κατ' ἄρουραν ἀ[ν]ὰ δραχμὰς
[ἔξήκον]τα (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ξ, ἀκίνδυνα πάν[τα]
[παντός] κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημο-
[σίω]ν ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμισθω-
[κότα, δ]ν καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν καρ-
15 [πῶ]ν ἕως τὸν φόρον ἀπολάβη·
[. . .] . βεβαιουμένη[ς] τῇ[ς] μ[ε]ισθώ-
[σεως] ἀποδότω τῷ Παῦνι
[μην]ὶ τοῦ ἐγρεστώτος ἔ[το]υς
[ἀνπερ]θέτ[ως], γ[ει]νομέ-
20 [νης τ]ῆς πράξεως παρὰ τ[οῦ]
[με]μισθωμέ[ν]ου καὶ ἐ[κ]
[τῶν ὑ]παρχόντων αὐτῷ
[πάντω]ν· κυρία ἢ μίσθω[σις]

- 1 *Ἀδ[ρήλιος Παῦτα*: He also appears in P. Berol. 21897 (unpublished), where he and Aurelios Asklepiades, both guardians of the peace, receive a petition from a woman whose house has been burglarized. There the name is spelled *Πεῦτας*.
- 3 *Παμου*·: The mu has been corrected from a beta.
- 7-8 *Ἀπολλωνίου [καὶ κτλ.]*: As far as I can determine the *kleros* is unattested. The letter following alpha could be a nu or tau.
- 11 Sixty drachmas per arura is a credible rent at the time when this papyrus was probably written—shortly after 212 A.D. Comparable rents are forty drachmas (P. Oxy. 502, 164 A.D.), thirty-two drachmas (P. Oxy. 593, 172/3 A.D.), eighty drachmas (PSI 73, 3rd. c.) plus various amounts *in natura*.
- 14-15 *κυριεύειν τῶν καρ[πῶ]ν*: A. Kränzlein, "Zur Urkundenklausel *κυριεύετω τῶν καρπῶν ἕως . . .*", *Akten d. XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Münchener Beiträge 66 (1974), pp. 215-224 discusses this phrase which is unique to land leases from Oxyrhynchos.
- 16 What could have stood at the beginning of the line is difficult to say. Usually there is nothing between the phrases which here precede and succeed, e.g. P. Oxy. 1691.15. Traces of three horizontal parallel strokes on the broken edge may be the remnants of a cancellation.
- 17 *ἀποδότην scil. ὁ μεμισθωμένος τὰ ὀφειλόμενα πάντα*, as in P. Merton 17.34.
Pap. *παῖνι*: Following the iota is a horizontal stroke to the papyrus edge.
- 23 *κυρία*: See on this term, M. Hässler, "Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden", *Berliner Juristische Abhandlungen* 3 (1960).

Translation: "Aurelios Pauta, son of N.N., from Oxyrhynchos (has leased to Aurelios) Paesis, son of Pamu— and —kis, from the (same city, for) the present (—th year) only (four) aruras belonging to him (near) Mermertha in the holding of Apollonios (and) . . . —os, for sowing with green crops, at a rent of (sixty) drachmas, total 60 drachmas, per arura, guaranteed completely against (all) risks, the land-tax falling to the lessor, who shall have control of the crops until he receives the rent. . . . Upon ratification of the lease, (the lessee) will pay in the (month) of Payni of the present year without delay, while the right of execution lies upon the lessee and (all) his property. This lease is valid."

Nr. 2341 Offer to Lease

P. 21902
8.4 × 8.2 cm

Karanis
2nd c. A.D.

Left margin 1.5 cm. Folded three times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and consists of a single fragment from the center of an offer to lease. The hand is large and upright, distinguished by long flourishes on some letters.

[τὰς ὑπαρχού]σας σοι περὶ πεδίων
[Ψεναρπενή]σιν ἐν τό(πω) Στώ
[]ς (ἀρούρας) αἰ. ἐκφορίου
[ἀποτάκτου] κατ' ἔτος χωρὶς
5 σπερμά[τ]ων πυροῦ ἀρτα-

βῶν πέντε μέτρῳ ἑξαχοι-
νίκῳ ἐρμηνέως Καρανίδος,
τὴν δὲ ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσομαι
ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐν τῇ
10 [ἀλωνίᾳ· βεβα]ιώσ(ε)ις δέ μοι

→
(m. 2) verso: Π[το]λεμα[]

- 2 τό(πω) Στώ: *addendum lexicis*. Also in P. Mich. 626.3.
- 6-7 μέτρῳ ἑξαχονίκῳ ἐρμηνέως Καρανίδος: Cf. BGU 227.13; 985.10; P. Tebt. 450. The broker's measure was regarded as the norm (WB s.v. *ἐρμηνεύς*).
- 10 [ἀλωνίᾳ]: I owe the restoration to H. Maehler. The closest parallel seems to be PSI 77.30f.: *παρασχεῖν τὸν φόρον . . . ἐν ἄκρῳ τῆς ἀλλωνίας*.
βεβα]ιώσ(ε)ις: Cf. P. Mich. 564.15 where the same is erroneously written; the line continues: *βεβαιώσις δέ μοι πάντα τὰ διαγραφόμενα εἰς τ[ὴν] δη[μ]οσίαν τράπεζαν κτλ.* as it undoubtedly once did here.

Translation: "(I, N.N., wish to lease . . .) 1½ aruras of . . . (belonging to) you near the plain of (Psenarpsenes) in the parcel of Sto, at the (agreed) annual rent of five artabs—in the six-*choinia* measure of the broker of Karanis—of wheat apart from seed, and I shall make the payment in Payni in the (threshing area). And you will guarantee to me (all the payments into the state bank . . .)"

Nr. 2342 Bank Diagraphé

P. 21699
11.2 × 7.2 cm

Fayum
January 28, 129 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 2 cm. The papyrus is dark brown and lacks small portions from the left side besides breaking after the thirteenth line. The script is a skilled and vertical one.

This document records in the form of a bank statement the payment in loan of one hundred (?) drachmas from the account of Chairemon to the account of Pakysis. Originally it was attached to a larger papyrus which contained the minutiae of the transaction between the parties named on this document, but it has long since been separated from the whole. This *diagraphé* is signal only in its mention of a bank which may already be known from another papyrus in the Berlin collection.

A close parallel is P. Tebt. 389. For further discussion of *diagraphai* see Preisigke, P. Strasb. 19 introd.; P. Drewes, "Die Bankdiagraphé in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri", diss., Freiburg, 1970.

ἔτους τρεῖςκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)
Μεχρί γ'· διὰ τῆς πλησίον

- [τ]ῆς τοῦ Δημητρίου πόλης Ἀρείο[v]
 5 τραπέζης· Χαιρήμων Χαιρή-
 μονος Πακύς[i] Ὁρου
 τοῦ Ὁρσέως ἀπὸ κόμης
 Βερ(ε)νικίδος Πολέμωνος
 [μερίδος] ὥς (ἐτῶν) μβ οὐλ(ῆ) πλ...[...]
 10 [... ἀπ]έχειν αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ
 [Χαιρ]ήμονος χρῆσ[ιν] ἐντ-
 [ο]χον κεφαλαίου ἀρ[γυρί-]
 [ον δ]ραχμ[ὰς ἐκ]ατόν

- 4 Δημητρίον: According to Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, p. 25, a quarter in the metropolis. The references are BGU 573.2, 1623.6. However, Δημητρεῖα also appear in Karanis, Hexapotamos and Philadelphia (Rübsam, *Götter u. Kulte*, p. 43).
 Ἀρείο[v] τραπέζης: Cf. BGU 177.10: διὰ τῆς Ἀρεῖ() τραπέζης, where the location is unknown.
 8 Βερ(ε)νικίδος sc. Θεσμοφόρον: See Calderini, *Dizionario II*, pp. 42-44 s.v.
 9 πλ...[...]: Following the lambda is the curved base of a letter—alpha or epsilon?—and the uppermost tip of an unusually high vertical stroke—upsilon?: πλε[ρ]αίς or πλαγ[ίω]? and [δεξ()] or [ἀριστ()] in line 10. Although marks of identification are usually described on readily visible parts of the body it may just be possible that Chaeremon possessed no other visible distinguishing scars. Yet at his age it seems unlikely that he would have passed through so much of life unblemished.
 10 The absence of a finite verb is characteristic of these *diagraphai*; see Preisigke, P. Strasb. 19, introd., p. 70.

Translation: "The thirteenth year of Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Mecheir 3. Through the bank of Arios near the gate of the Demetrium. Chaeremon, son of Chaeremon, (notifies) Pakysis, son of Horos and grandson of Orseus, from the village of Berenikis in the division of Polemon, about 42 years old, having a scar on his ..., that he (Pakysis) has received from Chaeremon the loan of the capital sum of ... (silver) drachmas with interest ..."

Nr. 2343 Bank Diagraphé

P. 25129
 8.2 × 9.5 cm

Arsinoitōn polis
 ca. 168 A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 1.8 cm; folded twice vertically. The papyrus is light brown and coarse-textured. It has suffered much damage along the lines of folding and has lost portions from the top and bottom. Running to the very right edge of the papyrus in evenly spaced lines is a fine, delicate, yet swift and slanted script.

Stotoetis, a priestess in Soknopaiu Nesos, receives notice from her bank that in accordance with her orders the sum of 1400 drachmas in earnest money on

property which she is buying from Gaius Julius Ammonius, a soldier of the 2nd Legion Traiana Fortis, has been withdrawn from her account and paid to his.

This document belongs with BGU 240, wherein Gaius Julius Ammonius acknowledges the receipt of the 1400 dr. from Stotoetis. That text, partially restored by F. Pringsheim, *Law*, pp. 409-10, proceeds to describe the tract of land as well as the conditions of sale and provisions for completion of payment and penalties for its neglect before it breaks off.

On bank *diagraphae* in general, see the references in 2342 introd.; on earnest money payments, Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 333-429.

- [(ἐτους) . Ἀδρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σε-]
 [β]αστοῦ Ἀρμ[ενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ]
 [Πα]ρθικοῦ Μ[ερίστον]
 διὰ τῆς Πτολεμ[αίου] τραπέζης]
 5 [Στ]οτοῆτις θυ[γάτηρ ± 6]
 τοῦ Σαταβοῦτος ἑ[έρε]α ἀπὸ κόμης(ς)
 Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσου μετὰ κυρίο[v] τοῦ
 ἀδελφοῦ Πανεφρέμμεω(ς) ἱερέω(ς)
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Γαῖω
 10 Τ[ο]υλίω Ἀμμωνίω στρατιώ(τη)
 λ[ε]γιῶνος δε[υτέ]ρας Τραιανῆς
 Ἰ[σ]χυρᾶς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χει-
 [λ]ίας τετρακοσίας ἀρραβῶνος
 [ἀνα]πορίφου ἀπὸ ἀρ[γ]υρίου δε[αχ-]
 15 [μῶν].[]...[]

- 1 The date of BGU 240 is lost; however, within the body of the document (l. 9) is mention of the eighth year of Marcus Aurelius. If both texts were not drawn up in that year itself, it was probably not much later when they were.

- 4 τῆς Πτολεμ[αίου] τραπέζης: In Arsinoitōn polis, according to P. Hamb. 33, where it appears in col. III 21; see the list of banks in A. Calderini, "Censimento topografico delle banche dell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 244-278.

Translation: "(Year ... of Aurelius Antoninus) Augustus Armeniacus (Medicus) Parthicus (Maximus, date). Through the (bank) of Ptolemaios, Stotoetis, daughter of N.N., and granddaughter of Satabus, a priestess from the village of Soknopaiu Nesos, with her brother Panephremmis, a priest from the same village, as guardian, (has paid) Gaius Julius Ammonius, a soldier of the second legion Traiana Fortis, one thousand four hundred drachmas earnest money irredeemable from ... silver drachmas ..."

Nr. 2344 Receipt for Rent

P. 21470
7.2 × 8 cm

early 1st c. A.D.

Upper margin 2.8 cm, left 1.5 cm. The papyrus is dark brown and riddled with holes especially along the three horizontal lines of folding. The upright and small hand may be compared to Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Abb. 23.

Diodora states that she has received from her farmer, Mikalos, a payment for the rent due for the past year upon garden land which he has leased from her.

Διοδώρα [± 8]
τ[οῦ] καὶ Ἀρα...[.].[± 6]
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρ[ός]
Διδύμου τες Πασίων(ος)
5 Μικάλωι χαί(ρειν)· ἀπέχω
παρά σου τ[ό]ν φόρον
ὃν ἐμισθώσας νται-
κῶν καρπῶν τοῦ
δι[ε]λθόντο[ς] ἐνδε[κ](άτου)
10 ἔτ[ου]ς, ε[ἰ]σπ[ε]πτοκότων
εἰς τὸ ἐνεσ[τό]ς δω[δέ]κ(ατον)
ἔ[το]ς καρπῶν, σοῦ
ὑπολογήσαντος [...]
[.....].[.].[.....]

→
15 verso: ἀποχ.[

4 l. τοῦ

6 φόρον: The word can indicate both a money and a produce payment (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 99).

7 l. ἐμισθώσω.

7-8 νταικῶν: ἐλαικῶν is impossible.

10 l. -πεπτοκότων

13 ὑπολογήσαντος: cf. P.Mich. 196.13: τοῦ δεινός ὑπολελογηκός παρ' ἐαντῶι τὰ σπέρματα κτλ.

Translation: "Diodora, daughter of N.N., alias Ara- . . ., with her husband Didymos, son of Pasion, as guardian, to Mikalos, greetings. I have received from you the rent for the past eleventh year due in the present twelfth year for the . . . fruit which you leased, with you deducting . . ."

Nr. 2345 Receipt for Rent

P. 21471
12.3 × 9.5 cm

Karanis
159/160 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 1.5-2 cm; folded four times vertically. Between lines twelve and thirteen is a space of 1.5 cm. The light brown papyrus is damaged by large and small worm holes. In places the jerky angular script is rubbed off. See P.Mert. 13 (pl. XVI) for a similar hand.

Two people from Karanis state through their guardian, Nilos, son of Asklepiades, that they have received twenty artabs of wheat from Petsiris, son of Petesuchos, as rent on four aruras of their land which he farms. He retains seed for the coming planting season.

Σεκ. . . . Θαι[σά]ριον καὶ Σ. . . .[.]
νίας [.] ἀμφότεροι Σέκξτον
Πρίσ[κον] διὰ φρογτιστοῦ Νείλου Ἀσ-
κληπι[ιάδου] ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος
5 Πεσίρις Πετεςούχον χαίρειν·
ἀπέχω παρά σου τὰ ἐχ(φ)όρια τοῦ
κβ (έτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι, σο[ῦ] ἔχογ-
τας
τος σπέρματα τοῦ εἰ[σ]όντος κγ [(έτους)] ὑπέ[ρ]
10 ὃν μοι γεωργεῖς περὶ Καρανί[δα]
ἀρούρας τέσσαρες ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν [. . .]
κοινὰ καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐγ[κ]αλῶ [.]

(έτους) κβ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖρον

15 Ἐδσεβοῦς·

1 l. Σεκξτία: Cf. P.Mich. 223.3157, 224.4274.

2 [ἀδελφός?], [ἀδελφή?], ἀμφότεροι?

2-3 Σέκξτον Πρίσ[κον]: A Gaius Sextus Priscus appears in P.Mich. 224.2978, 3951 *et passim* (Karanis, 172-3 A.D.).

3 Νείλου: A Nilos appears in connection with a Thaisarion in P.Mich. 508 (Karanis, 2nd-3rd c. A.D.).

5 l. Πεσίρις: A Petsiris, son of Petesuchos and Apia, appears in the Karanis tax rolls: P.Mich. 223.1223 *et passim*.

6 l. ἐκφόρια

8 l. ἀρτάβας

9 τος: The writer first wrote tau and alpha, corrected it to τος σπέρματα, and finally added above the line τας—presumably the definite article and missing first letter for σπέρματα.

11 l. τέσσαρες

After ἀρουρῶν one expects in the lacuna a number.

12 Brashear, Greek Papyri

12 *κοινά*: This word, in agreement with τὰ σπέρματα, is evidently equivalent to the more common phrase ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. Petsiris deducts from the harvest his share of seed for planting the next year's crop. His share originated from a common seed stock, controlled by both the landlords and himself, and probably amounted to one-half of it (see J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 209-211).

Translation: "Sextia Thaisarion and S-nias, both (children) of Sextus Priscus, (through their) guardian, Nilos, son of Asklepiades, from the village of Karanis, to Petsiris, son of Petesuchos, greetings. I have received from you twenty artabs of wheat, rent for the 21st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, on the four aruras (in the plot of) . . . aruras, near Karanis, which you farm for me, while you retain the seed for the coming 23rd year. And I will not prosecute you . . . Year 22 of Emperor Caesar Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus."

Nr. 2346 Order for Payment

P. 21404
12 × 12.5 cm

November 20, 181 A.D.

Col. I upper margin 3.3 cm; col. II upper margin 1.8 cm, left 1.8 cm. The papyrus is medium dark brown and riddled with holes large and small. It was folded three times vertically. To the left is a fragment of a letter, probably addressed to the same person.

Hermias bids Anubion pay the money, which he (Hermias) borrowed from a banker, to the banker's brother. BGU 1064 preserves a close parallel.

Column I	Column II
(m.1)]τιμιωτά(τω)]ρειον]ουριαν ἀ]ργυρι..	(m.2) Ερμίας Άνουβίωσι τῷ τιμιωτάτ(ω) χαίρειν· καλῶς ποιή[σ]ις δούς Εὐαγγέλω τῷ καὶ Ηρωδιανῷ ἀνθ' ὧν [ἔσ]χον ε[.] .κ....
5]ισας].	5 παρὰ Άνουβίω[νος] Σαραπίωνος τραπε[ζ]ίτου ἀδελφοῦ [δρα]χμῶν τετρακοσίων (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ν τὰς ἰσ]ας ἀρ[γυ]ρίου δραχμὰς τετρα[κο]σίας (γίν.) (δρ.) ν ἀριθμ[ῶ] καὶ σταθμ[ῶ] ἔτους [δ]ευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Ἀδοκράτορος
10	Κ[αῖσαρος Μά]ρκου Ἀδρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Σ[α]ρμ[α]τικοῦ [Γ]ερμανικοῦ μεγίστου, Ἄθρο κδ·
→	verso: (γίν.) (δρ.) ν Άνουβίω[.]...[

Translation (col. II): "Hermias to the most esteemed Anubion, greetings. Please give to Evangelos, alias Herodianos, in place of the four hundred drachmas, total 400 dr., which I received . . . from his brother Anubion the banker, son of Sarapion, the same four hundred drachmas, total 400 dr., correct in number and weight. The twenty-second year of Emperor (Caesar) Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, Hathyr 24."

Nr. 2347 Order from Syros to Heroninos

P. 25108
6.5 × 6.5 cm

Theadelphia
ca. 250 A.D.

Upper margin 1 cm, left 0.8 cm. The papyrus is light brown and is missing portions from the left side and lower left corner. The same hand which wrote P. Flor. 244, 246 seems to have penned this one also.

Syros writes to Heroninos and orders him to give three *dichora* of wine to a certain servant called Ala. Other documents belonging to the Heronine archive are listed by O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*, Turin, 1973, p. 256.

Σῦρος Ἡρωνί(νῳ) τῷ φιλ-
τάτῳ χαίρειν·
δός Ἄλα παιδαρίῳ ἐξ ἐν-
κελεύσεως τοῦ εὐσχή-
5 [μο]ρος διαταγῆς οἷ-
νου δίχῳ(ρα) γ- ὅξους
[] .ν ἐν ἐρρῶσ-
[date θαί] σε ε[ὕ]χ[ο]μαι·

→ verso: Ἡρωνείνῳ φρ(οντιστῇ)

- Σῦρος: He is the author of numerous letters to Heroninos, among others; see P. Flor. 241-258, P. Reinach 112.
- Ἄλα: The name is rare. He is unknown to the archive of Heroninos.
- 4-5 εὐσχή[μο]ρος scil. Ἀλπίον: Cf. Comparetti, P. Flor. II, p. 60 *fin.*, P. Flor. 228 introd.
- διαταγῆς: This word appears often in connection with orders for wine, e.g. P. Oslo 146; P. Oxy. 92.5, 2153.7; P. Iand. 153 *passim*; P. Fay. 133.4, but also with orders for other things, e.g. P. Lips. 97 III 5 *et passim*; P. Oxy. 93.2. Its meaning is not entirely clear; see P. Oxy. 2153.7 note; P. Lips. 97 III 5 note.
- δίχῳ(ρα): Equivalent to two *keramia* (P. Flor. 123.5 note).
ὅξους: P. Flor. 147.7 note says there is much distinction made in the archive between ὅξος (sour, vinegary wine) and οἶνος, e.g. P. Flor. 229.

Translation: "Syros to his dearest Heroninos, greetings. Give to the servant Ala, according to the order of the noble one, from the allotment, 3 *dichora* of wine and one . . . of vinegar. I pray that you are in good health." Verso: "To Heroninos, overseer."

Nr. 2348 Order for Delivery

P. 21925

3rd c. A.D.

10.1 × 12 cm

Upper margin 2.5 cm, lower 2.2 cm, left 1 cm, right 1.5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and fine-textured, marred by occasional holes, but for the most part in good condition. The hand is swift and slanted. On the verso are three scattered ink marks, which have no importance.

Ammonios writes to Koloburos, ordering him to give 470 *xyla* of acacia wood to Diophilos for his own use.

An order for a delivery of wood does not usually commend itself to literary interest. However, this example is an exception. The name of the overseer Koloburos, to whom the order is addressed, is a sobriquet meaning "stump-tail". Only one citation for this adjective is given in LSJ and that is from Hesychius.

π(αρά) Ἀμμωνίου

Κολοβούρω φρ(οντιστή).

ἀπόλυσον Διοφίλω

εἰς ἰδίαν χρεῖαν ἀκανθίνου

5 ξύλ(α) νο (m.2) σεσ(ημείωμαι)

(m.1) ἰδ (ἔτους) Φαμενὼνθ κς

2 Κολοβούρω: The word is known only from Hesychius s.v. κόθουρος.

φρ(οντιστή): The symbol of abbreviation is similar to that in P.Flor. 235.2,4 (plate).

3 ἀπόλυσον: As in P.Flor. 123.2, 147.2, the word here means "deliver".

1. Διοφίλω: Rare; cf. Pape, *Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen*, Braunschweig, 1884, where he cites Zenobius 5.13. See also IG IX 713.5-6; VII 134: Διοφίλα and cf. the Homeric epithet *διόφιλος* and the remarks by W. Swinnen, "Philammon et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn", *Studia Hellenistica* 16 (1968) 248.

5 ξύλ(α): Either one of two measures of length defined in P.Oxy. 669.11,38 notes as 2²/₃ and 3 cubits.

σεσ(ημείωμαι): Ammonios' autograph is somewhat more rigid and vertical than the surrounding script.

Translation: "From Ammonios to "Stump-tail", manager. Deliver to Diophilos for his own use 470 *xyla* of acacia. (Hd. 2) Signed by me. (Hd. 1) 14th year, Phamenoth 26."

Nr. 2349 Letter

P. 25124

2nd c. A.D.

15 × 12.2 cm

Left margin 1.5 cm, lower 4.5 cm. What remains of the medium light brown papyrus is in good condition; however, an inestimable amount has broken off from the top. The hand is a very fine, squarely cursive one.

Only the conclusion of this letter with its words of greetings remains. However, someone was evidently quite concerned that its contents remain unaltered, for

after the final salutation there is a note that the letter had an erasure at the beginning of the fifth line, and this note itself is succeeded by a long line to the margin. Since this fifth line is evidently lost with the rest of the beginning, there is no way of knowing the reasons for taking this precaution. The letter is otherwise of interest only for its preservation of a new word.

[. . .] . . . [

. . . [. . .] . σοι ἐστὶ [

πρὶν [] συνκομιδῇ [

λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα πα[ρ] ἐμοῦ κοιμισά-

5 μενος σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς·

ἀσπάζον τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ μαθέτω

ἢ γαμβρά σου διτι λίαν ἐλυπήθημεν

περὶ τῆς θνηγατρὸς αὐτῆς· καὶ ἀσπάζου

Ἄρτεμειν κα[ὶ] Σανσνεὺν· ἀσπάζου Πά-

10 τρώνα καὶ Παβετᾶν τὸν τέκτονα· ἀσ-

πάζεται Τιτιανὸς τὴν μητέρα[ν] αὐτοῦ

Θερμουῶθιν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς· ἐρ[ρ]ῶσθα[ι]

× × × × × × × × × × × × × σε εὔχομαι·

ἐστὶν δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἔχουσα ἀλφί-

15 δα μίαν <ε>ὶς τὴν ἀρχή[ν] το[ῦ] πέμ-

πτου στίχου

→

verso:]. . . νυσίωνος ἀδελφοῦ [

8 1. θνηγατρὸς

καί: The iota has been corrected from sigma.

9 Ἄρτεμειν: The alpha has been corrected from tau (?). I have emended the reading of the papyrus after the name Artemis for two reasons: Kasansneuis is an abnormal form which does not readily analyze. Furthermore, the double name Artemis Kasansneuis would be unusual enough in itself.

Σανσνεὺς is also unattested, but cf. Σανσνεοῦς and Σανσνεοῦς fem.

14-15 ἀλφίδα: 1. ἀλοιφίδα *addendum lexicis*; cf. ἀλοιφή. I owe the reading to H. Maehler. Although the alpha, consisting of two simple strokes like lambda, resembles no other in the entire text, this reading makes more sense than other possible ones.

Translation (l. 5-16): "When you get (my) letter, hurry and come to us. Greet my mother and let your daughter-in-law know that we long mourned her daughter. Greet Artemis and Sansneuis; greet Patron and Pabetas, the builder. Titianos greets his mother, Thermuthis, and her children. Farewell."
"This is the letter with one erasure at the beginning of the fifth line."

7 (δνοβόλους): The abbreviation is two wavy lines, one above the other.

7-8 ἀμικτωρίων: Cf. R. Rémondon, "Autour de quelques termes du P. Fouad inéd. inv. no. 45", *Chron. d'Eg.* 27 (1952) 196; P. Oxy. 1535.8; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona, 1971, p. 27.

Translation: "Didymos to Didyme and Helene his daughter, greetings. I am writing to you how much I remember (buying) linen (?) for: 8 dr.; and to the needle-maker (I paid) 8 dr. less 2 ob.; for two linen shawls 15 dr. . . ."

Nr. 2352 Letter

P. 21635 verso

10.7 × 7.2 cm

3rd c. A.D.

Right margin 1.5 cm, upper 1 cm. Folded three times vertically. The papyrus is light brown and in relatively good condition; it breaks at the twelfth line. On the basis of the script, which is similar to P. Flor. 199 (259 A.D.), the text may be dated to the mid-third century A.D. On the recto is 2356.

Chromatation writes a letter to her daughter Saturnila on the back of an account which has been crossed out and cut to size (by Chromatation herself?). Similar in content to P. Tebt. 34, it concerns the release of a certain Harpokras from confinement into the probable custody of Chromatation.

- ↓ π(αρά) Χρωματίου
 Σατορνείλα θυγατρὶ χαίρ(ειν)·
 τὸν Ἀρποκραῖν παρὰ τοῦ
 δεκαδάρχου ἀξιώσας(α)
 5 ἔλαβον· δι' ἧς δ[ε] χρείας
 μετεπέμφθη αὐτός
 σοι μεταδώσει· ἴσθι
 ὅδν ὅτι ἐὰν αὐθὶς σοι
 αὐτῇ τις περὶ α[ὐ]τὸν ζή-
 10 τησις γένηται, οὐδείς
 αὐτ[ὸν] ἐλίσσεται [π]οῦ ἀπ[ὸ] λ-
 [θ]ε[ρ] [] . . . []

1 Χρωματίου: Cf. SB 6014: προσ[κ]ύν[η]μα . . . Χρωματι[], (inscr., Elephantine, 3rd c. A.D.). Otherwise, the name is unattested.

2 χαίρ(ειν): Alpha is written above the line as an extension of the diagonal in chi.

4 δεκαδάρχον: P.M. Meyer in P. Hamb. 10.1 note lists documents wherein *decuriones* appear acting as police.

Papyri mentioning the detainment of people by one official or another are rare, e.g. P. Mich. 421; P. Oxy. 259 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 101; BGU 2063.15; 2240; 1138 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 100.

Translation: "From Chromatation to her daughter, Saturnila, greetings. I have taken Harpokras, requesting him from the decurion. On what charges he was summoned he himself will inform you. Know therefore that if any inquiry regarding him be made to you, no one will know where he has gone . . ."

Nr. 2353 Business Account

P. 25107

13.4 × 9.5 cm

Soknopaiu Nesos?

April 26-28(?), 115 A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1.7 cm. This light brown papyrus is broken off on three sides. That which remains is in relatively good condition and covered by writing in a large, vertical, clearly legible, cursive hand.

Three new words appear in this private shipping account from the year 115 A.D.: *κεραμηγός*, *πλινθηγός*, *ἀνθρακηγός*. In the diary of F. Zucker and W. Schubart during their campaign in 1909/10 in Dime, excerpts of which have been published in *Archiv* 21 (1971) 5-55, one finds the entry: "Sonntag, 26. Dezember 09. . . . 2 Bruchstücke einer Liste von Lastkähnen mit verschiedenartigen Frachten: *ἀνθρακηγοῦ*—*ἀμμηγοῦ*—*κ]εραμηγοῦ*—*π]λινθηγοῦ*" (*Archiv*, pp. 27-28). Although none of the entries correspond exactly with the ones appearing in this fragment, the coincidence of new words is nonetheless striking. Perhaps Zucker was reading from the other fragment which has in the past 65 years become separated from this one and disappeared.

Otherwise the entries are too incomplete, the whole document too fragmentary, to be of much interest. Parallels include P. Oxy. 1650-52; see also Grenfell and Hunt, P. Oxy. 1650 introd.

χειριστικὸν ἀσχολήμ[ατος
 (ἔτους) ιη- Τραϊανοῦ Ἀρίστου [τοῦ
 κυρίου Παχῶν

α-

5 κεραμηγῶν δύο [

πλινθηγῶν δύο [

(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κβ (τριώβολοι) [

β-

πλινθηγοῦ

10 (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) α (όβολός) (ήμιωβέλιον)

άνθρακηγοῦ κνδάρον

[π]ιττακίω γρ(αμματέων) Κέρκεσα Ἀπολλ[

εῖς] ἀληγόν (δρ.) γ (όβολός) εἰς Φαρμο[ῦθι

15 [κερ]αμηγοῦ εἰς ἐκπλου[ν

[]Κλαυδίου Ἐρμείνου δι() σγ[

[]τ() .ριου . .[

2 Ἀρίστον: Regarding Trajan's title *Optimus*, see Dio Cassius 68.23,2 and Plinius jun., *Paneg.* 88. In the lacuna may also have stood [Καίσαρος τοῦ]

5 κεραμηγῶν scil. κνδάρον: *addendum lexicis*.

6 πλινθηγῶν scil. κνδάρον: *addendum lexicis*.

12 ἀνθρακηγοῦ: *addendum lexicis*.

13 Κέρκεσα: Cf. *Κέρκες* in P.Mich. 223-225. This may be a village name here.

14 ἀληγόν: The only reference in LSJ to the word is Plutarch 2.685e.

Translation: "Business account for the 18th year of Trajanus Optimus (Caesar the?) lord. Pachon. 1st. For two pottery carriers . . . For two brick carriers . . . total 22½ dr. 2nd. For a brick carrier . . . total 1 dr. 1½ ob. -th. For one charcoal-carrying boat."

"To the association of scribes of Kerkesa Apoll-, (for) a salt carrier, 3 dr. 1 ob. For Pharmuthi . . . for a brick carrier for the departure . . ."

Nr. 2354 Account of Work and Salaries

P. 21409

18.5 × 8.3 cm

2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 1 cm, left 1.3 cm, lower 9.3 cm. The papyrus is dark brown and except for the upper right corner entire. The script is a small neat one recording workers and wages for a little over a week during the fall before planting. On a comparison with wages listed by A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 306-310, the text may be assigned to the second century A.D. Although the information is scanty and comparisons or conclusions are hazardous, these workers seem to have been especially well paid, each receiving (for a day's work?) one drachma. The calculation in this account leaves much to be desired.

χερσοκ(οποῦντες) ἐργ(άται) θ (δραχμαί) θ, ἐπικό(πτοντες) δ[]

[ο]ϊκοδ(ομῆς) ἀντλ(ήματος) ἐργ(άται) β (δρ.) β, ἀποχύ(σεως) (δρ.) α .[

οϊκοδ(ομῆς) (δρ.) α (τετρώβολον) ἐργ(άται) ς ἀ(νὰ) (δρ.) α []

ἀντλ(οῦντες) καὶ ἀνδη() τό(πο-) καινο() ἐργ(άται) γ- (δρ.) γ- []

5 (γίνονται) (δρ.) κς

κ- ἐκχοί(ζων) καὶ δμαλ(ίζων) ἐργ(άτης) α ἀνὰ (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.)

ἐργ(άται) ς ἀ(νὰ) (δρ.) α

κα- σκορ(πίζων) κο(πρίζων) καὶ ἀνδη() ἐργ(άτης) α (δρ.) α

ἀνδη() ἄλ(λοι) ἐργ(άται) γ (δρ.) γ (γίν.) (δρ.) ζ (τετρώβ.)

10 (γίν.) (δρ.) κη (τριώβολον)· καὶ ἀντλ(ήσεως) καινοῦ μὲν τό(πον)

κα- κβ- ἐργ(άται) ς (δρ.) ς· καὶ ἀπὸ κγ-

ἕως κδ- κοπ(ρίζοντες) ἐργ(άται) ιε (δρ.) ιε·

κη- τό(πον) καινοῦ ἐργ(άται) γ (δρ.) γ (γίν.) (δρ.) ιη

(γίν.) (δρ.) νβ (τριώβ.)· ἕως κη- καὶ κθ-

1 χερσοκ(οποῦντες): Despite the disappearance of a diagonal, the first letter must be chi. The word refers to the process of turning up the soil and making it arable: P.Mich. 322a.4 note; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 24.

ἐπικό(πτοντες): The exact operation implied by this verb has not been satisfactorily established. Whereas Schnebel, *op.cit.*, p. 307-8 suggests it may be the pruning of trees, P.Cair.Zen. 59383.18 implies a clearing of the land. Here the latter operation is probably intended. The same doubt arises with ἐκκόπτειν (see P.Merton 27.10). (In BGU 2060.14 ἐκκόπτειν means a clearing of the land).

4 ἀνδη(): ἀνδηρεῖται is the designation for those in charge of distributing the water to the various plots of land (WB s.v.; P.Ryl. 157.15 note). Since no corresponding verb has ever been attested, I hesitate resolving ἀντλ(οῦντες) καὶ *ἀνδη(ρεῖοντες) τό(πον) καινό(ν) or ἀντλ(ήσεως) καὶ *ἀνδη(ρεῖσεως) τό(πον) καινο(ῦ). The bookkeeper was probably not overly concerned with the grammatical proprieties of his account anyway and did not go so far as to formulate the various procedures he listed in verbs or nouns. See Schnebel, *op.cit.*, p. 71, for the distinctions between ποτίζειν, ἀρδεύειν and ἀντλεῖν.

ἐργ(άται) γ- (δρ.) γ-: The first numeral is topped by a horizontal stroke above which a half circle—open end down—appears (a stray lapse of the pen?). Furthermore a horizontal bar crosses the vertical of the gamma. The second number looks like a square sigma: two horizontals and a vertical connecting them on the left; however, it may be that both of these figures are written over, i.e. original zetas were corrected to gammas(?).

6 ἐκχοί(ζων) καὶ δμαλ(ίζων): The first word is attested only three times: O.Strasb. 677; PSI 517.2; P.Oxy. 2272.66. The second is more common and refers to the levelling of uneven places after the flooding (Schnebel, *op.cit.*, p. 105).

8 σκορ(πίζων), κο(πρίζων): Both verbs relate to fertilizing the land (Schnebel, *op.cit.*, pp. 88, 89).

14 καὶ κθ-: καρ.θ/ might also be read.

Translation: "9 workers dragging, 9 drachmas; 4 clearing (the land?) . . .; 2 workers building a water-wheel, 2 dr.; for a drainage ditch, 1 dr. . .; for building, 1 dr. 4 ob.; 6 workers at 1 dr. apiece; for the pumping and watering of a new plot, 3 workers, 3 dr.; total 26 dr.

20th. 1 worker, excavating and leveling, at 1 dr. 4 ob.; 6 workers at 1 dr. apiece.

21st. 1 worker fertilizing and manuring and distributing water, 1 dr.; 3 other workers distributing water, 3 dr.; total 7 dr. 4 ob. Total 28 dr. 3 ob.; and for pumping water for a new plot.

21st, 22nd. 6 workers, 6 dr.; and from the 23rd to the 24th, 15 workers manuring, 15 dr.

28th. A new plot. 3 workers, 3 dr.; total 18 dr. Total 52 dr. 3 ob. Until the 28th and 29th (?)”

Nr. 2355 Account

P. 21465

7.5 × 6.1 cm

2nd-3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Left margin 0.6 cm. The scrap of light brown papyrus, broken off on three sides, preserves a section of an account written in a small straggling hand of the second or third century A.D.

If the expansion of the abbreviation *κομ(ιδαι)*, suggested by H. Maehler, is correct, then the list records transports, in some entries evidently of goods, in others to individuals without any further indication of what was being transported. The numbers to the right of each entry add up to the correct total of 407 conveyances.

	Χοιάχ ιε ις		
	καὶ <ε>ἰς Παῦτον Νεστ() .παγι [
	ὁμ(οίως) ταβελλαρίου κομ(ιδαι?) ν-	σ [
	ἀγοραστὰ ν-	σθ [
5	μελιεπίον ρσθ-	α [
	Ἀφροδισίου νε-	α [
	Νεμεσιαν(ῶ) ἀγορα(στὰ) ιη-	α [
	Σουχάμ(μωνι) Πτολ() ι-		
	Ναβερσαιτος ι-		
10	ἐπὶ καταγίσματα ιε-		
	γί(νονται) κ[ο]μ(ιδαι) υζ-		

3 ταβελλαρίου: The word appears once elsewhere in papyri (P.Cair.Preisigke 11.10). The postal system in Roman Egypt is poorly documented. Relevant material may be found in H. G. Pflaum, *Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris, 1940, and J. van Ooteghem, "Le service postal à Rome", *Les Études Classiques* 27 (1959) 187-197.

5 μελιεπίον: *addendum lexicis*. "boiled honey, something boiled with honey". Cf. *μυρέριον*, *λινέριον* and *μελιεποί* in P. Sijpesteijn, "Einige Papyri aus d. Amsterdamer Sammlung", *ZPE* 9 (1972) 49.

6 Ἀφροδισίου: either the personal name or "brothel"; on the latter see Grenfell and Hunt, P.Tebt. 6.29 note.

8 Σουχάμ(μωνι): see 2280b.4 note.

9 Ναβερσαιτος: The name is otherwise known only from an eighth century London papyrus where it is the designation of a topos (P.Lond. IV 1419.935, 951).

10 καταγίσματα: *addendum lexicis*. "that which is bottled or packed". Cf. *τελωνίσμιος*, *συγκολλήσιμος* etc.

Translation: "Choiak 15-16. And to Pautos, son of Nest()...; similarly, postal conveyances(?), 50; purchases, 50; boiled honey, 199; for Aphrodisios, 55; purchases for Nemesianos, 18; for Suchammon, son of Ptol(), 10; for Nabersais, 10; bottled things, 15; totals 407 conveyances."

Nr. 2356 Private Account

P. 21635 recto

10.7 × 7.2 cm

3rd c. A.D.

Left margin 2 cm, upper 1.5 cm. The papyrus is medium light brown and apart from minor breaks well-preserved. However, the text is incomplete, since someone extracted this portion from the entire account and used the bare verso surface for a letter (2352). The hand resembles that of P.Flor. 132, 139 etc. The text has been crossed out.

Given the number of names which this fragmentary account has in common with the Heroninos archive (P.Flor. II; SB 9072-9083; *et al.*), it is not unlikely that this document should be counted with that group. Nothing conclusively establishes a relationship, but nothing disproves it either.

λ[ό]γος πρὸς Σεργηνίωνα Χ[οιάκ
εἰς Φαμενὸν κ[
καὶ ὁμοίως π(αρά) Νεμεσίνο[ν
Χρυσσαφίων Ἀλυπίου .[
5 Ὀφελλίον πρὸν(άνεως) τεταρτ[
Νεμεσίνο[ς χ<ε>ἰρ(στής) τοῦ [
(γίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (τάλαντα) . (δραχμαὶ) Δ[
ἐξ ὧν ἐδό[θη] εἰς τιμὴν οἶνου [
Βασιλίδην ὑ(πὲρ) Δωρυσίου γα[
10 Σεργηνίῳ χρυσοχόῳ .[
Ἀπολλων[ί]ον ἀδελφοῦ [
καὶ διὰ τοῦ .[...].χ' τοῦ οἶνο[ν]
[]...[]...[]

- 1 $\lambda[\delta]\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$: In accounts beginning $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$, it is not customary to mention the party from whom they emanate (P. Tebt. 862.1 note).
Σερηνίωνα: A certain Serenion, a wine-seller, is mentioned by Sarapas in a letter to Heroninos (SB 9080).
 4 *Χρυσάφιων*: The name is rare and usually spelled *Χρυσάφιος*. As far as I can determine, this is the first mention of Aypios having a son by this name.
Αλυσίων: Aypios is a common figure in the Heronine correspondence.
 5 *Οφελλίον*: Someone of this name writes to Heroninos in P. Flor. 218; cf. SB 9056 where the name also appears in a letter to Heroninos.
 7 Pap. ε) ϵ . ς Δ : The questionable talent sum may be alpha or theta.
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό: The editors of P. Lond. II 196.36, 40 (p. 154) and Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay. 41 introd. p. 160 offer this interpretation of epsilon followed by a curved stroke.
 9 *Δωρεσίον*: *addendum onomasticis*.
 10 *Σερηνίω*: The papyrus is damaged and the writing smeared after omega. Perhaps one should read *Σερηνίων*.
χρυσόχορ: A *κτῆμα Χρυσόχου* is mentioned as a wine-producing tract several times in the Heronine correspondence: P. Flor. 132, 167, 236, 254, 274; P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Einige Papyri aus der Giessener Papyrussammlung", *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 134.
 12 *καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀ[ναδ]όχου* (?): the quality of the wine would naturally have to be guaranteed.

Nr. 2357 Private Account

P. 21915 verso
 12.4 × 15.3 cm

3rd c. A.D.

Lower margin minimal. First intercolumnar space *ca.* 3 cm, second 2-3 cm. For the description see 2211 introd. The script is small and cramped.

Remnants of three columns record victuals and sums. Of the first column only the sums remain, of the third only the goods; several of the entries in the second column are complete. Apart from several new and rare words the list has little interest. On the bases of the paleography and the fact that it was undoubtedly compiled after the official letter on its recto (2211) had served its purpose, it can be approximately dated to the third century A.D. Since no measurements or amounts are given in any entry, comparisons of prices in this list with those in other lists and a more exact dating derived from these comparisons are impossible.

The question naturally arises whether or not there is any connection between the request for provisions on the recto side of this papyrus (2211) and the evident tallying and accounting of victuals on the verso. Wilcken in his pioneering article "Der ägyptische Konvent", *Archiv* 4 (1908) 366-422, tentatively formulated a prefect's timetable for completing an itinerary of Egypt. According to the data he collected, a prefect having sailed by sea from Alexandria to Pelusium would hold a *conventus* in the latter city in January. Boating down the Pelusine arm of the Nile, he would spend January to April in Memphis and return to Alexandria to hold a *conventus* there from June to August. Provided that he took the shortest route home—the westernmost branch of the Nile—his

journey would at no stage take him anywhere near the Phthemphuthite nome. Only were he to take a less direct route, the Bolbitine branch, would he approach the nome in May. However, the dates which appear in the account are all in December and January (col. III 3ff.: Choiak(?) 6 = December 2, Tybi 4-7 = December 30 - January 2) when Larcus Memor would be on the sea heading for Pelusium and far away from the Phthemphuthite nome. For these reasons the materials are not being tallied on the occasion of a *conventus*. But a *conventus* was not the only time a prefect visited Egypt. Inspection and audit tours would leave him a flexible itinerary. In the end, a connection between the two texts does not seem likely, yet the remote possibility cannot be rejected out of hand either.

Column I	Column II	Column III
↓		
]. . . [
		]. . . (δρ.) ρκδ[
		]ον πα[λ]αιῶν (δρ.) ρκ [
		] . . [δμ]οίως (δρ.) δ [
] (δρ.) δ	5 εἰς κόμμιδες (δρ.) κ [	τρωμ. [
] (δρ.) δ	παῖδ[α]ρίους Μαξιμ(ον)[	λεκ[
ἡ]μέρ(αι) γ (δρ.) κδ	Μάγνη [] (δρ.) π	ς τι(μῆς) βι[
5] (δρ.) η	εἰς ἐπιβολὴν οἶν[ον] καὶ	ναύλ[ον
] (δρ.) δ	οἰνοποιήματος (δρ.) ρ	5 ἀλ<λ>αγῆς [
] (δρ.) α	10 ἔλεον ἀπὸ ις ἔω[ς] λ	Τῶβι δ[
] (δρ.) η	ἡμερῶν ιε ἐκ(άστης) (δρ.) η (δρ.) ρκ	κρέως [
] (δρ.) η	τ[ι(μῆς)] ἀλιματίου παλαιῶν (δρ.) λβ	ε κρέως [
] (δρ.) η	ῶν παλαιῶν [] (δρ.) λβ	δρους [
10] (δρ.) qβ	περιστεριδίων [] (δρ.) κ	10 κιναρῶν
] (δρ.) μ	15 ζωκτηρίων πα[λαιῶν	ς ἐλαίου [
] (δρ.) π	τι(μῆς) ῥοσικοῦ []	ζ ψωμίω[ν
	ταρίχων [] β	κιναρῶν
	Ζωσίμω []	χάρτο[ν
	(γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀρ. []	

Column I

7 (δρ.) α: This is the only entry not calculated in tetradrachms.

Column II

- 5 1. *κόμμιδες*: The plural of *κόμμι*, -ιδος for which I find no previous attestation. On gum and the gum trade in Egypt, see D. Sperber, "A Note on Kommidion and the Gum Trade", *Aegyptus* 53 (1973) 22-27.
 6 *παῖδ[α]ρίους Μαξιμ(ον)*: Cf. P. Ryl. 640.22: *παιδαρίους Ἀδριανοῦ*; 639 verso 180, 181, 193.
 9 *οἰνοποιήματος*: *addendum lexicis*. Cf. *οἰνοποιία*.

- 10 l. *ἐλαίον*
 11 *ἐκ(άσσης) scil. ἡμέρας*
 12 *ἀλιμματίον*: The diminutive appears here for the second time; cf. Diog. *apud* D. Laert. 6.52: *ἐπ' ἀλειμματίον ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλ' ἡμέτιον*, in a pun.
παλαιῶν: Here and in line three the word either has a usage at present unknown, or it should be corrected to agree with the preceding noun.
 15 *ζωκτηρίων*: meaning unknown; l. *ζευκτηρίων* (?). Cf. P. Abinn. 4.8 *ζωκτηῖρας*, which the editors suggest may be a misspelling of *ζευκτηρίων*, and 2361 col. I 2: *ζευκ[τ]ρας*.
 16 *ῥοσικοῦ*: *addendum lexicis*. Perhaps it is cognate with *ῥούσιος* "russet" in SPP XX 245.18; P. Mert. 13.12 and means "red pigment, rouge". l. *ῥωστικοῦ* (?); cf. P. Oxy. 1922.4.
 17 As O. M. Pearl has brought to my attention, with one exception, the amounts are all in tetradrachms. In that case, possible restorations are ι]β, λ]β, ο]β, ρ]β.

Column III

- 1 *τωμ.*: τῷ M. [? Of the fourth letter only a diagonal remains before the papyrus breaks.
 3 Opposite this line, in the intercolumnar space, is a slightly slanted vertical stroke with a tail—a stray marking?
 5 *ἀλ(λ)αγῆς*: See N. Clauson, "A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt", *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 278-9. This and the preceding entry evidently record freight and shipping charges.
 9 *ὄψους*: A neuter form heretofore appearing in P. Mert. 87.2; P. Cornell 35.15; P. Ryl. 627.84; LXX *Num.* 11.22.

Translation: (Col. II 5-19) "For gums 20 drachmas; to Maximos' slaves . . . ; to Magnus 80 dr.; for a share of wine and wine-making 100 dr.; for oil from the 16th until the 30th, 15 days at 8 dr. per day, 120 dr.; for the price of old salve (?) 32 dr.; for old eggs 32 dr.; for a pigeon 20 dr.; for old *zokteria* . . . ; for the price of *rosikon* . . . ; for preserved meat . . . 2 dr.; to Zosimos . . . ; total 1100 (plus) dr."

(Col. III) "to M-; for *lek*-; the 6th, for the price of *bi*-; for freight . . . ; for exchange . . . ; Tybi the 4th, for meat . . . ; the 5th, for meat . . . ; for fish . . . ; for artichokes . . . ; the 6th, for oil . . . ; the 7th, for bread . . . ; for artichokes . . . ; for papyrus . . ."

Nr. 2358 Private Account

P. 21417

15 × 11.5 cm

early 4th c. A.D.

Left margin 2.4 cm, right 3-4 cm. This medium dark brown papyrus is broken off at both top and bottom and damaged throughout by small breaks and abrasions. The small, neat script dates probably to the early 4th century A.D. Apart from several new and uncommon words this list of expenditures is interesting for its notation of the numerals. Both the symbol in l. 13 and the interpretation of the prices in l. 4-8, 11, 14ff. continue to baffle. For by what

rationale can relish and bread (l. 9, 10) command a price of a talent each, whereas raphanus oil and eggs (l. 4-6) a mere seventeen and eight drachmas respectively—unless the two diagonal strokes after these numbers indicate another currency. But what?

On the verso is the end of another account.

[] . []	ἀργ(υρίον) .
σάγματος	ἀργ(υρ.) Β
ἀπίνθον	(τάλαντα) β
δουων	ἀργ(υρ.) η //
5 ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου	ἀργ(υρ.) ιζ //
δουων ἄλλων	ἀργ(υρ.) η //
ἀννωνικόν	ἀργ(υρ.) η //
ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου	ἀργ(υρ.) η //
ὄψαριζων	(τάλ.) α
10 ψωμίων τῆς οννα	(τάλ.) α
ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου	ἀργ(υρ.) ιη //
[. .] μερων	(τάλ.) . //
λε[v]κομενίου	(τάλ.) α (δραχμαί) 7
[] . . . κων	ἀργ(υρ.) η //
15 ἐντρούσκον [μ]ικρῶ	ἀργ(υρ.) . // κει[. .]
ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου	ἀργ(υρ.) . . //
παστιλλ . .	ἀργ(υρ.) . . //
ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου	ἀργ(υρ.) []
(m.2) αμβρα . . []	[]
20 [. .] . . σ[]	[]

2 *σάγματος*: However, the mu resembles more an alpha, and the succeeding letters are just as uncertain.

3 *ἀπίνθον*: See the extensive bibliography cited in S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin, 1971, p. 219 s.v.

4 l. *ῥῶν*, as in l. 6.

5 l. *ἐλαίον ῥαφανίνου*: "In the Roman period the papyri quite support the statement of Pliny *N.H.* about the extensive use of raphanus oil in Egypt", Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay. 95 introd. See also the bibliography cited in S. Lauffer, *op.cit.*, p. 217 s.v.

7 l. *ἀννωνικόν*: See S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona, 1971, p. 29.

9 l. *ὄψαριζων*

10 *οννα*: *addendum lexicis*.

13 *λε[v]κομενίου*: *addendum lexicis*; cf. LSJ *λευκομαίνις* "a white sprat fish".

7: I am at a loss for a parallel for this symbol, although I should imagine it to stand for 2000.

15 l. *ἐντρούσκον μικρῶ*? : *ἐν ὅτιον* or *σαγματίον* are just as likely readings.

17 *παστιλλ . .*: not -ον; cf. BGU 34 V 19: *παστιλλίων*.

13 Brashear, Greek Papyri

Translation: (l. 2-18): "For a pack-saddle?, 2000 silver (drachmas?); for wormwood, 2 talents; for eggs, 8 silver (dr. ?); for raphanus oil, 17 silver (dr. ?); for other eggs, 8 silver (dr. ?); for the *annonikon*, 8 silver (dr. ?); for raphanus oil, 18 silver (dr. ?); for relish, 1 talent; for buns? . . ., 1 talent; for raphanus oil, 18 silver (dr. ?); . . .; for a white sprat, 1 talent 2000 dr. ?; for a little chervil?, . . .; for raphanus oil . . .; for sweets . . .; for raphanus oil . . ."

Nr. 2359 Inventory List

P. 21444

late 3rd c. A.D.

25.5 × 15.8 cm

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.7 cm, right 3.5 cm, lower 11.5 cm, left 2 cm. The papyrus is medium light brown and has suffered some damage along the left edge, the lower right corner, and in several places within its perimeter. The large bold script may be compared to P.Vindob.Worp 18; P.Merton 90, 92; P.Lugd.-Bat. I 20.

This list of articles contains several new and rare words, for most of which provisory definitions can be suggested.

	θύρα σὺν τῷ τριβ[ω]	α'
	ὕδρια κεντητική	α'
	δέματα ψατίων	γ'
	πράμνια	γ'
5	σάκκος φυλιδίων	α'
	[θ]ύραι	δ'
	λαχανάρι[ο]ν	α'
	[λ]ιγμάτιον	α'
	καβίδια δύο ἐσφραγισμένα	
10	ὕδρια μικρὰ ἔχονσα φάβα	α'
	ψέτιον ἔχων νίτρα	
	ῥαγοὶ 5 ⁻ σὺν τοῖς κοστίωσι	
	καὶ τῷ σ[.]...υματι[

1 τριβ[ω]: see LSJ s.v. II 2: "socket, friction-joint"; here evidently "hinge", although I find no other evidence of the usage.

2 l. κεντητική: The word appears once in Theophrastus 3.9.6 and means "spiny, prickly". Cf. however, BGU 781 IV 17: (μήσουλαι) κεντηταί "engraved tables".

3 l. ψατίων: here probably "mats" and not baskets (see 2334.5 note).

4 πράμνια: *addendum lexicis*; cf. πράμνη: δίκελλα according to Hesychius.

5 l. φυλιδίων?: *addendum lexicis*. diminutive of φυλλίς.

7 λαχανάρι[ο]ν: here for the third time; cf. P.Lugd.-Bat. VI 49a II 1, b II 1. Van Groningen translates it "vegetable-pan". On the evidence of this list, which for the most part consists of various sorts of vessels, this translation is also suited here.

8 [λ]ιγμάτιον: *addendum lexicis*. diminutive of λιγμός (= λίκνον).

9 καβίδια: Probably the same as χαβότια in PSI 428.53, and χαβίτια in P.Cair.Zen. 680.20 (both 3rd c. B.C.). Cf. P.Strasb. 35.7,10,18: καβιδειν; P.Oxy. 2599.35 note: καβειν, "vessel, receptacle".

10 l. φάβατα: here for the first time in a papyrus.

11 l. ψιάθιον ἔχον: here undoubtedly "baskets" (see 2334.5 note).

νίτρα: see P. Merton 70.8 note for a description of this compound and its uses in Egypt.

12 ῥαγοὶ: The only suitable definition cited by LSJ is that recorded in the Suda: bronze seats used by Bithynian women. Another possible reading is ὀκλαῖς, perhaps for ὀκλαδίας, "folding chair".

κοστίωσι: or κρεῖωσι or βογίωσι. Evidently a dative plural of a noun in -ίων or -ίων.

Translation: "Door with the hinge 1; engraved vase 1; bundles of mats 3; picks 3; sack of salads 1; doors 4; vegetable-pan 1; winnowing-fan 1; two sealed *kabidia*; a small jar of beans; a basket of natron; chairs 6 (?) with the . . ."

Nr. 2360 Inventory List

P. 25101

3rd-4th c. A.D.

10.5 × 10.4 cm

Recto blank. Left margin 0.5-1.4 cm, upper 1 cm. This inventory list is written across the fibers of a coarse papyrus in a large, uniform, cursive hand of the 3rd-4th century A.D., similar to P.Lond. 428 (pl. 111). Several of the entries are damaged by breaks and abrasions, and the papyrus breaks through the eleventh line.

This list of receptacles and vessels is of interest for its preservation of six rare and three new words.

↓	χε(ι)ρονιψάται	γ ⁻	εἰς τὸ .εφ.[...].[]
	θύσκα	θ ⁻	
	τρούλλας	α ⁻	
	κανκίας	β ⁻	
5	μικρὰ ὀσχυβάφια	λ ⁻	
	μνάκια	ια ⁻	
	τρούλλια μικρὰ	ι ⁻	
	μικρὸν οἶνον . . .[.]ν[]		
	σπονπιτώρια	β ⁻	
10	ἀλατάρια	δ ⁻	
	. . .ον . . .ια μικρ[ά]		

1 χε(ι)ρονιψάται: *addendum lexicis*.

εἰς τὸ .εφ.: The letter following omicron resembles sigma or the left half of an omega.

2 l. θύσκα

- 3 l. τρούλλα: See S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, p. 114.
 4 l. κανκία
 5 l. δξυβάφια
 9 σονωπτώρια: *addendum lexicis*.
 10 ἀλατάρια: *addendum lexicis*.

Translation: "Hand-washing basins (?) 3 for the ...; censers 9; cup 1; cups 2; small saucers 30; spoons 11; small cups 10; small wine-...; *sonoptoria* 2; salt-cellars 4 ..."

Nr. 2361 Account (Pl. XIV)

P. 21929 recto

fg. a: 14.8 × 15.8 cm

fg. b: 11.6 × 16 cm

Fayum

4th c. A.D.

Two fragments of coarse-textured papyrus, broken off on all four sides, abraded and worm-chewed, constitute the present document. The fancily skilled script may be dated to the late third or early fourth century A.D. On the verso in a large, crude script are entries of an account of unknown nature.

In the same order, listed town-by-town, in at least three columns, are various building supplies and equipment with the number or amount of each written in the same hand to the right. Each entry is furthermore checked to the left by a heavy, dark stroke. The intent of the list is at present a subject for speculation. However, it seems likely that the objects and materials were levied from the towns for a certain common undertaking—perhaps the maintenance and repair of the canals.

Similar lists of building supplies include: BGU 952; P.Oxy. 1450, 2272, 2581; P.Vindob. 12565 published by Hermann Schmitz in *Münchener Beiträge* 19, pp. 419ff. = C. P. Herm. 127 verso 1 = SPP XX 68 = V 127; P.Ant. 46; P.Lond. 1177.

Fig. a Column I Column II

κάτοι ὄσ[τ]ράκινοι [	]	σκούταλος [
ξενκ[τ]ρας σχοίνιναι ρνς'		κονίας καμίνια	ο.τ [
σκ[ύ]ταλος α'		ἀχύρον σαργάνη	αθ [
κ[ο]νίας καμίνια β'		σπ. κλι φονικηγόν	βλ' [
5 ἀχύρον σαργάνη L'		κώμ(ης) Δικέον	
σπ[.]ι. [] . . ποικαμπη α		πλίθον ὀμῆς	ωμ' [
κώμ(ης) Κερκεσούχον Σχοινίον		ὀπτῆς	τι. [
πλίθον ὀμῆς Γν.		θύραι	λ' ρ' [

πλίθον ὀπτῆς	Γωοθ[]	οὐλένια [
10 θύραι σ. . . .		σχοινία πήχ[εις
οὐλένια[]ζ		εἰσκληῖστρα καὶ βακτηρίαι
σχοινία]		σκαμίνω[ν
-----		δικέλλια[
		] αμ[αι
	15] σπειλες [
] . . [
		ξέλον [

Fig. b Column I Column II

]. . π[ό]λεως		Θεοξενίδου	[
[πλίθον] ὀμῆς	Δ	πλί[θον] [ὀ]μῆς	B
[πλίθον] ὀπτῆς[ς]	Αφ	πλίθον ὀπτῆς] . [
] θ[ύ]ραι	ε''	θύραι	. [
5 [οὐ]λένια κ''	5	οὐλένια	. [
[σχοι]νία [τρ]ύεινα πήχ(εις)	νε	σχοινία τρύεινα μικρά[
[εἰσκληῖστ]ρ[α] καὶ βακτηρας		πήχ(εις)	
ξέλον σκαμίνον	ρ''	εἰσκληῖστρα καὶ βακτηρίαι	
δικέλλια	ν''	σκαμίνον	
10 αμ[αι	ν''	10 [δικέλλια	
σπειλες	ν''	αμ[αι	
] . [] . []	γ''	σπειλες	

Fig. a Column I

- 1 l. κάδοι ? : The papyrus is broken off, leaving only the lower halves of the letters—for some not even that much. *kadoi ostrakinoi* appear in an account of supplies for fountains and waterworks of the metropolis, P.Lond. III 1177.92 (p. 183). According to A. Castiglioni, "Contributi alla nomenclatura dei vasi", *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 3 (1920) 138, the *kados* was one of the most common vase types used in Egypt.
- 2 ξενκ[τ]ρας : Cf. 2357 col. II 15: ζωκτηρίων; P.Lond. III 1177.167 (p. 185): ξενκτηρίων : P.Abinn. 4.8: ζωκτηρ and note. The sense here is perhaps "plaited-reed ropes".
- 3 σκ[ύ]ταλος : The form is attested once in Tzetzes' *Historiarum variarum chiliades* 9.130.
- 4 κ[ο]νίας : Plaster is a common item in parallel lists, e.g. P.Oxy. 1450.4; 2272.27ff.; BGU 952.2. Here, as in P.Oxy. 2581 II 8, it is measured in oven-fulls.
 καμίνια : The diminutive of κάμινος is attested only in late Greek; see Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v. Ovens were a necessity in the production of plaster from gypsum. Those mentioned in P.Oxy. 1450.5 thus need not necessarily have been parts of the building repaired but rather kilns for producing the plaster mentioned in the preceding line.

- 5 ἀχόρον σαργάνη: Cf. P.Vindob. 12565 fgg. 12.7, 3.14; P.Oxy. 2272.20–21; O. Theb. 1582; P.Lond. III 1166.12 (p. 105). Chaff was mixed with the plaster as binding material.
- 6 The entries here and in col. II 4 are perplexing. They are definitely not identical. Neither of them have check marks to the left and so must be indications unique to themselves.
- 7 κόμ(ης) 1. Κερκεσούχων Σχοινίων: *addendum lexicis*. It also appears in a shipping account on an unpublished papyrus in this collection.
- 8 1. πλίνθον ὠμῆς: Cf. the entry in BGU 362 VIII 9.
Γν.: The slanting, subscript stroke replaced the superimposed curl as the thousands indicator in the mid-fourth century (*JEA* 25 (1939) 86).
- 9 1. πλίνθον ὀπτῆς: Cf. SPP X 259.9: (ὀπῆρ) τιμ(ῆς) ὀπτοπλίνθων.
- 11 1. ὠλένια: The word is rare and occurs only as an adjective. Here it is evidently a diminutive of ὠλήν, ὠλένη, which appears in P.Fay. 110.29 and P.Petr. III, p. 139 as the designation for a mat used to bind layers of bricks (LSJ s.v. ὠλήν). I owe the successful reading of this word to H. Maehler.

Column II

- 4 σπ.κλι: The letter(s) after pi is smudged; eta or alpha and iota are possible readings.
1. φοινικηγόν: H. Maehler deciphered this.
- 5 κόμ(ης) 1. Δικαίων: in the division of Polemon.
- 8 λ' ρ': This number is troublesome. I know of no reason why the ciphers should be reversed.
- 11 1. εἰσκληίστρα: *addendum lexicis*.
- 13 δικέλλια: *addendum lexicis*.
- 15 σπειλες: Cf. σπιλα "strings of gut" Hesychius.

Fig. b Column I

- 6 σχοινία [τρ]ύεινα: 1. θρύεινα? "reed rope"?
νε: or γ"
- 7 1. βακτηρία

Column II

- 1 Θεοξενίδον: In the division of Themistes. To the extreme right, on the broken edge, is a dark stroke marking an item in a third column.
- 4 The number of doors may be rho.

Translation (fig. a) Col. I: "Clay jars . . .; plaited-reed ropes, 156; pole, 1; ovens of plaster, 2; basket of chaff, $\frac{1}{2}$; . . . 1. From the village of Kerkesucha Schoinion: unburnt lime, 3400; burnt lime, 3864; doors . . .; mats . . . 7; rope . . ."

Col. II "pole (1); ovens of plaster . . .; basket of chaff, $\frac{1}{2}$; . . . From the village of Dikaion: unburnt lime, 840; burnt lime, 80; doors, 30, 100; mats . . .; rope, . . . cubits; rods (?) and staves . . .; mulberry wood . . .; hacks . . .; shovels . . .; gut strings . . .; . . .; wood (?) . . ."

Nr. 2362 List of Names

P. 21469 recto
9.3 × 8 cm

Karanis?
2nd c. A.D.

Lower margin 1.5 cm. This fragment of light brown papyrus is broken off on three sides and covered with writing on both surfaces. On the verso are remnants of an account of grain in a crude hand. The recto preserves the end portion of a name list. One hand wrote the names in dark, more or less vertical strokes, another adding in lighter, thicker strokes the column numbers of a roll (perhaps the house-to-house census register), wherein these names also appeared. Although several of the names are known from the Karanis tax rolls (P.Mich. 223, 224), the column numbers do not correspond; hence identity is questionable. Furthermore, in its fragmentary state the text reveals little regarding its intent and purpose. Similar in format are P.Mich. 380, 381; SB 9496.

To the left are traces of line ends from another column.

...[
(m. 2) κολ(λήματος) ρ []
(m. 1) Κάστωρ Κ[]
(m. 2) κολ(λήμα.) ρι[]
5 (m. 1) Λεωνίδης [.] ανω() υ() []
(m. 2) etc. κολ(λήμα.) .
Νααρ(αῦς) Νααρ(αῦτος) [] Να. []
κολ(λήμα.) ριγ[]
Ζηνᾶς Φαήσεως υ() δ[]
10 κολ(λήμα.) ριβ
Λε. .σσ. Τεσεν[ο]ύφ[εως]
[κο]λ(λήμα.) ιε
Πα[] Ὀρσενού[φεως]
[κο]λ(λήμα.) []
15 Φανομ[] νεώτ(ερος) υ() Φαν[]
κολ(λήμα.) ρια
Πτολεμαῖς Ὀνώφρ[εως]
κολ(λήμα.) ρ.
Φανομενὸς Πασο() ... []
20 κολ(λήμα.) ις
Μελανᾶς []
κολ(λήμα.) πη

5 υ(): Here adorned with a bar to the right; in lines 9 and 15 with a dot in the center.
For ὀ(ισῶ)?

7 *Νααρ*(αῦς) *Ναα*[ρ(αῦτος)]: Cf. P.Mich. 225.2511, 2906.

9 *Ζηναῖς Φαήσεως*: Cf. P.Mich. 223.86, 287, 494 etc.

17 *Πτολεμαῖς Ὀννώφρ[εως]*: Cf. P.Mich. IV index s.v.; P.Mich. 380.12.

19 *Φανομγὲς Πασο()*: Cf. O.Mich. 963: *Φανομγὲς Πασοκνοπαίου μη(τρὸς) Τασωούκιος*.

However, the traces after the father's name here do not much resemble the beginning of the mother's name there.

Nr. 2363 List of Names

P. 21896 recto

14.5 × 16.3 cm

Fayum

2nd c. A.D.

Upper margin 1 cm; intercolumnar space 3 cm. The light brown papyrus is broken off on three sides, but preserves portions of two columns in a rightward slanted and vigorous hand. With line fourteen begins a new hand with an almost vertical ductus. On the verso is the tax receipt 2284.

From column I remain only line ends, a few letters here and there. Preserved in column II is the latter half of a list of ten men and the name of their overseer. For reasons unknown the names in lines one and four protude into the intercolumnar space and display checkmarks.

Column II

.[Σερ]ῆνος Ὀθαλερίου [

Εὔδαίμων Ἀπο[λ()] μη[(τρὸς)

Ἰσίων Σαταβοῦτος μ[η(τρὸς)

Ἀφροδᾶς Ἀμμωνίου [

5 *Ἀρητᾶς* Ἀπολλωνίου μη(τρὸς) *Θερμου*[

Ὠρίων Πασίωνος μη(τρὸς) *Θαήσιος* ἐτ[

(γίνονται) δέκα ὧν προϊστάται [

Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Διοσκόρου μη[(τρὸς)

ἀπὸ *Σεκνε*()

10 καί.[

π[

το.[

ν.[

(m. 2) *περι*[

6 ἐτ[: or ἐπ[

7 δέκα : *Dekaniai* appear in various contexts, performing assorted functions; see P. Ryl. 196.9-10 note.

9 *Σεκνε*() : The choice of expansions lies between Soknopaiu Nesos, occasionally spelled Seknepaiu (2253, 2254), and *Σεκνεπυνείου ἀμφοδον* in Arsinoiton polis (e.g. SB 9512.6).

14 *περι*[: or *περχ*[

Nr. 2364 List of Donkey-Drivers

P. 21406

16.5 × 9.5 cm

2nd c. A.D.

Verso blank. Upper margin 0.8 cm, left 1.5 cm, right 2.2 cm. The papyrus is light brown and scarred by worm holes. An indeterminate amount is missing from the bottom. The hand is a practiced cursive of the mid 2nd century A.D.

This register, recording men and the number of donkeys each one possessed, has as close parallel P.Hamb. 33 verso. Whereas P.Lond. II 443 (p. 78) lists both foals and grown animals (whether camels or donkeys is uncertain) and P.Hamb. 33 verso both personal and public property, the present document restricts itself to mere names and numbers. It is once again confirmed by this text that the rule of *τριονία* was little more than an ideal, for of the seventeen entries preserved, only three record the "requisite" number of three donkeys (see P. M. Meyer, P.Hamb. 33 introd., p. 145; Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 117).

On the liturgy of donkey-driving in general see Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 116ff.; Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 403ff.; P. M. Meyer, P.Hamb. 33 introd.

γραφὴ ὄνη.[.].

[.] .νῶφης [Ο]ρθεώ[ς]

γ

Ὠρίων Νίλον

δ

Κάρπινος ἀδελφός

δ

5 Δῖος Ἡρακλείδου

γ

Ἄπις Διοδώρου

γ

Ἀρποχρᾶς Πτολεμ()

α

Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρωνος

α

Σουχᾶς Ἀρμιέω[ς]

α

10 Διδᾶς Πασίωνος

α

Νίλος Στοτοήτιος

ς

Νίλος Σιτόειτος

β

Τρύφων Διδᾶ

β

Διδᾶς Διδύμου

α

15 Συρίων Γεμίνου

α

Κάστωρ Παποντιῶτ(ος)

α

Πετερμούθ(ις) Πλουτᾶ

α

Ὠ[] .ς

β

1 ὄνη.[.] : One expects ὀνηλατῶν; the word is evidently here abbreviated.

7 Ἀρποχρᾶς : See A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* I, Paris, 1969, p. 74, on the orthography of this name.

11 Σιτόειτος : corrected from [Τ]ιτόειτος.

13 Τρύφων : See É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* II, Paris, 1969, p. 115, on the etymology of this name.

Nr. 2365 List of Villages and Sums

P. 21462
14.4 × 6.5 cm

Heracleopolite nome(?)
late 3rd c. A.D.

Verso blank. The papyrus is medium dark brown and broken off on all four sides. To the left, opposite lines 11–16, in the same hand, are remnants of sums. The hand is bold with flourishes and abbreviations. It may be tentatively dated to the late 3rd to 4th century A.D.

Here listed are sixteen towns with a sum of money in drachmas opposite each one. With the exception of three, the towns are unknown. Since these three in lines 12–14 are identical to known towns in the Heracleopolite nome, one may assume with some confidence that the other towns belong to the same nome, and that this is a town-by-town listing of revenues derived from a certain tax, e.g. P.Hib. 218; P.Oxy. 1659; 2279.

	Αμφ.δ()	(δραχμαὶ) Γν [
	Παλας	(δρ.) Γνξζ [
	Μαγδ(ῶλα)	(δρ.) Δ [
	Αττον-	(δρ.) σνε[
5	Παλα-	(δρ.) μδ [
	Ουναλεγ()	(δρ.) .. [
	Νιηρα-	(δρ.) Γ
	Βασιλ()	(δρ.) ρις [
	Σκνπίων	(δρ.) .[
10	Ποαχρῖνα	(δρ.) φξ [
]. .[
	Τεχθώ [
	Πάπα	(δρ.) .[
	Θελβώ	(δρ.) σ[
15	Θμοιχ [
	Νομαρχ() [

1 Γν: or Γχ

3 Μαγδ(ῶλα): Similar but not the same is Μαγδ[.]χ() in P.Hib. 218.37.

5 Παλα-: or Πελαχ()

8 Βασιλ(): The only town otherwise known by this abbreviation is in the Oxyrhynchite nome (P.Oxy. 1659.27).

10 Ποαχρῖνα: or Προθ...γοθ

12 Τεχθώ: see P.Hib. 218.71, 78, 91.

13 Πάπα: see P.Hib. 218.44.

14 Θελβώ: see P.Hib. 218.52.

15 Θμοιχ: or Θμοιλ.

Nr. 2366 New Dating Formula (Pl. II)

P. 25137
7 × 11.5 cm

Arsinoitōn polis
3rd c. A.D.

Recto blank. Upper margin 1–1.5 cm, lower 2.5 cm. The papyrus is light brown and damaged throughout by small worm holes. The script is a rapid one, slanting heavily to the right and written across the fiber grains.

↓ ἔτους β|| Μάρκον Αὐ[ρ]ηλίον Σεονήρον Μακρίνον .[? Παρθικοῦ]
μεγίστον Βρετανικοῦ μεγίστον Γερμανικοῦ μέγισ[τον Εὐσεβοῦς]
Σεβαστοῦ· ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργεδί(δι) τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοίτου) νομ[οῦ]]
λειμ .[]

1 The last letter trace does not seem to be pi for Παρθικοῦ: perhaps Ἀ[ντωνίνου].

2 1. Βρετανικοῦ.

3 1. Εὐεργεδί(δι) = Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλις. See J. Oates, "Ptolemais Euergetis and the City of the Arsinoites", *BASP* 12 (1975) 115–120, where he discusses the peculiar titles of this city.

Papyri dating to the sole reign of Macrinus are not that numerous (J. Schwartz, *P. Strasb. 517*, commentary), and this one is all the more interesting because it preserves a new titulature. Unusual is the absence of the *gentilicium* Opellius and in its place Aurelius. Furthermore, the honorifics here are with one exception never attested among Macrinus' titles. *Parthicus*, if in fact it once stood in the lacuna in line one, is the only honorific Macrinus assumed in commemoration of his dubious victory over Artabanus. Although mistakes in titulatures are not unknown, e.g. Septimius Severus called *Sarmaticus* (CIL VI 1033, Rome), Caracalla called *Armeniacus* (CIL VIII 10236, Lambese, Sahara) (P. Salama, "L'empereur Macrin Parthicus Maximus", *Revue des Études Anciennes* 66 (1964) 337 n. 7), I doubt that all of these honorifics could be mistakenly attributed to Macrinus on one papyrus.

In view of these anomalies I am quite hesitant to ascribe this titulature to Macrinus, for apart from the name Macrinus itself, it has all the characteristics of one of Caracalla's titulatures: *Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεονήρος Ἀντωνίνος Παρθικός μέγιστος Βρετανικός μέγιστος Γερμανικός μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός*. Since there are no cancellations or corrections, I do not believe this can be regarded as another example of Elagabal post-dating his ascendancy to succeed the rule of Caracalla (P. Sijpesteijn, "Macrinus' *Damnatio memoriae* und die Papyri", *ZPE* 13 (1974) 219ff.; L. Koenen, "Eine Berechnung der Regierungsjahre des Augustus vom Tode Caesars", *ZPE* 13 (1974) 230). Moreover, Elagabal never assumed—any more than Macrinus did—the titles of *Britannicus maximus* or *Germanicus maximus*. I know of no logical explanation for this conundrum.

Indices

I Emperors, Consuls, Indictions

a) Emperors

Augustus

Καίσαρ (ἐτ. κε) 2291.1

Tiberius

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός (ἐτ. δ) 2239.7; 2304.5

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Αὐτοκράτωρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός 2245 I 6-8, II 10-12

Claudius

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ (ἐτ. β) 2214.5-7; (ἐτ. γ) 2335.12-15; 2337.1-3, 20-22; (ἐτ. ια) 2305.3-5; 2306.3-5

Domitianus

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστός (ἐτ. α) 2292.1-2; 2294.3-4; (ἐτ. β) 2316.4-6. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς (ἐτ. η) 2330.1-2; (ἐτ. ι) 2331.1-2

Trajanus

Τραϊανὸς Ἀριστος ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. ιη) 2353.2-3 Τραϊανὸς Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. γ) 2309.6-7 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Νέρονας Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός (ἐτ. γ) 2273.5-6 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Νέρονας Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Λακικός (ἐτ. ιζ) 2215 III 5-8; (ἐτ. ιη) 2256.1-2; (ἐτ. ?) 2246.20-21; (without Σεβαστός) 2246.10-11 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Ἀριστος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Λακικός Παρθικός (ἐτ. β) 2257.1-3

Hadrianus

Ἀδριανὸς ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. ια) 2319.6; (ἐτ. ιδ) 2324.4-5; (ἐτ. κ) 2325.4-5 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός (ἐτ. ιγ) 2342.1-2 Θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς (ἐτ. α) 2217 II 19; (ἐτ. κα) 2269.11; (ἐτ. ?) 2216.14

Antoninus

Ἀντωνίνος ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. θ) 2216.13 Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ (ἐτ. ιθ) 2276.5 Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. α) 2269.2, 10, 15; (ἐτ. ζ) 2333.6; (ἐτ. η) 2314.4-5; (ἐτ. θ) 2227.1-3; 2310.4-5; (ἐτ. ις) 2229.7; (ἐτ. ιη) 2275 I 9, II 9; (ἐτ. κ) 2283.5; (ἐτ. κβ) 2266.1; 2345.7; (ἐτ. κγ) 2230 I 13, 18; 2312.3-4; (ἐτ. ?) 2274.5; 2293.1 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής (ἐτ. κβ) 2345.13-15 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβής (ἐτ. α) 2258.1-3; 2269.23-24; (ἐτ. γ) 2259.1-3; (ἐτ. ε) 2260.1-3; (ἐτ. ζ) 2333.20-22; (ἐτ. ιζ) 2261.2-4; (ἐτ. ιδ) 2216.24; (ἐτ. κα) 2295.1-3; (ἐτ. ?) 2262.1-3. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ (ἐτ. ιδ) 2216.21. Θεὸς Αἴλιος Ἀντωνίνος (ἐτ. ε) 2217 I 7; (ἐτ. κγ) 2221.[9]

Marcus Aurelius and Verus

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοὶ (ἐτ. β) 2287.6-7; (ἐτ. ?) 2250.8-9 Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοὶ Ἀρμενιακοὶ Μηδικοὶ Παρθικοὶ μέγιστοι (ἐτ. θ) 2297.1-5 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Ἀδρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. α) 2222.7-11; 2299.1-4

Marcus Aurelius

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. ιδ) 2224 I 9-10; (ἐτ. ιε) 2223.13-14; (ἐτ. ις) 2247.9-10; 2321.6-7. Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς μέγιστος (ἐτ. ?) 2343.1-3.

Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. ?) 2326a.1-2?

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος (ἐτ. ις) 2247.14-16

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Κόμμοδος οἱ κύριοι (ἐτ. ις) 2323.7-9

Commodus

Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. κδ) 2284.3-5 Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. κε) 2231.13-14; (ἐτ. λα) 2300.1-2 Λούκιος Αἴλιος Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. λγ) 2289.1-4 Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἐτ. κθ) 2281 III 4-5; (ἐτ. λα) 2253.10-12; (ἐτ. ?) 2326a.1? Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Βρεταννικὸς μέγιστος (ἐτ. κς) 2244.3-5 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος (ἐτ. κβ) 2346 II 9-13

Pescennius Niger

Γάιος Πεσκέννιος Νίγερ Ίουστος Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. β) 2285.1-2

Septimius Severus

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Πέρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ?) 2254.6-7; 2248.4-5 Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς (ἐτ. δ) 2301.1-5; (ἐτ. ?) 2248.12-14

Septimius Severus and Caracalla

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς Παρθικὸς μέγιστος καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστοὶ (ἐτ. ζ) 2302.1-4 Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς μέγιστος καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος

Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστοὶ (ἐτ. ζ) 2264 I 1-4, II 1-5.

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστοὶ 2249.5-8

Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ιβ) 2290.1-5

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ις) 2298.1-4

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος [] Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ις) 2336.1-4

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής Σεβαστὸς καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ι) 2226.7-10

Caracalla

Αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής Εὐτυχής Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. ?) 2303.1-3

Elagabal

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβής Εὐτυχής Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. β) 2234 II 16-18

Alexander

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβής Εὐτυχής Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. θ) 2282.6-8

uncertain

Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Σεουήρος Μακρίνος [... Παρθικὸς?] μέγιστος Βρεταννικὸς μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος [Εὐσεβής] Σεβαστὸς (ἐτ. β) 2366.1-3

Diocletianus, Maximianus and Constantius

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες (ἐτ. κ, ιβ) 2334.12-14

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- δεσπύται ἡμῶν Γρατιανὸς δ Αἰγούστος γ καὶ
Φλάουιος Ἐκθύσιος δ λαμπρότατος κόμμες
(374) 2332.1-2*
*οἱ δεσπύται ἡμῶν Οὐάλεριος τὸς καὶ Οὐαλεντινία-
νὸς τὸ β οἱ αἰώνιοι Αἰγούστοι (378)
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| P. Flor. 376.34-35 | 2300.5 note |
| P. Lond. 305.2 | 2275 I 4 note |
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| Archiv 3 (1906) 368-379 | 2213 introd. and notes |
| SB 15 | 2216 introd. and notes; 2275 I 1 note |

Addenda et Corrigenda

- p. XIV P. Leit. 1. not *TAPA* but *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society*.
All references to O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, I. Turin.
- 2211 introd. On the *conventus* see also G. F. Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano*, Milan, 1974; G. Zavattoni, "La competenza giurisdizionale del 'Conventus' nell'Egitto greco-romano", *Studi in onore di G. Scherillo I*, Milan, 1972, pp. 153 ff.
2216. 17 n. See also B. Müller, "Megas Theos", diss. Phil. Hal., 1913, xxi.
- 2217 II 5 l. [κ]ωπίωνες?
- 2220 introd. (cf. P. Tebt. II 566 and J. Keenan, "Census Return of Herakleides", *Chron. d'Eg.* 46 (1971) 121 n. 7).
5 n. *fin.* O. Montevecchi, "Nerone a una polis e ai 6475", *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5—33; E. Bernard, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*, Leyden, 1975, no. 25; Hombert-Préaux, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
2223. 5 n. See Arangio-Ruiz, "Intorno agli *ΑΣΤΟΙ* dell'Egitto greco-romano", *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* 4 (1950) 7—20 = L. Bove, *Studi Epigrafici e Papirologici*, Naples, 1974, pp. 345—354.
- 2224 I 2 On the derivation of the name Potamon, see J. Reynolds-O. Masson, "Une inscription éphébique de Ptolémaïs", *ZPE* 20 (1976) 94.
- 2230 I 2—3 n. delete "BGU 17 and".
Translation: l. "register of those in the same category".
II 7—8 This is the only example of a death certificate for a katoikos and as such more evidence for the fact that katoikoi were also subject to the poll-tax (see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 117—119).
21 ff. Timagenes' signature and acknowledgement of receipt?
- 2234 II 14—15 n. See P. Pruneti, "I *ΚΑΗΡΟΙ* del nomo Ossirinichite", *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159 ff.
- 2234 II translation: "Apollonophanes, son of Diophantes" is also possible. l. "Phamenoth. (Hd. 3) I," etc.
2237. 2 [*Ι*]έρανι: Gundel, "Der Gaustratege Hierax", *Chiron* 1 (1971) 319—324, suggests that the Hierax of 2236 and 2237 may be one and the same. As a result of ordering a Roman citizen publicly beaten, he may have had to stand trial (SB 7523); however, upon being acquitted he was eligible to serve as strategos again and did so in 159 ff.
- 2342 introd. "... Freiburg, 1970 = *JJP* 18 (1974) 95—155; H. J. Wolff, "Die banknotarielle Urkunde d. röm. Ägypten", *Estudios jurídicos en homenaje al Prof. Santa Cruz Teijeiro*, Valencia, 1974, pp. 593—605.
- 2247 introd. "... from the right a strip six letters wide and from the left more than half its width", etc.
2247. 4 Έπωνόχον: See E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae II*, Paris, 1969, p. 115, on the derivation and distribution of this name.

2252. 4 κωμά[ρχ]ων: See H. Missler, "Der Komarch. Ein Beitrag zur Dorfverwaltung im ptol., röm. u. byz. Ägypten", diss. Marburg, 1970; J. D. Thomas, "The Introduction of Dekaprotai and Comarchs into Egypt in the Third Century A. D.", *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111—119.
2255. 4 Ψεναμο(ένεως): W. Spiegelberg, *Ein Erbstreit aus d. ptol. Ägypten*, Strasbourg, 1912, p. 45, comments on the derivation of this name.
2257. 5 έμβλή(ματι): A transversal dike temporarily thrown across a canal to divert the water into smaller irrigation ditches. The fourteen references to this word, collected and analyzed by D. Bonneau (letter, June 7, 1976), all relate to the Bahr Gharaq and the Bahr Nezla—hence in the south or southwest Fayum, whence this text probably also derives. See P. Col. V 1 vso. 4. 79 n.
- 2264 I 5 n. According to the evidence collected by D. Bonneau which she kindly put at my disposal, *ἀναψημός* is always effectuated in naubia in cisterns, wells or reservoirs—P. Ryl. 90 and the present text being the only exceptions thus far—hence more evidence for this text being a list of naubion-workers.
2265. 11 n. See on this designation the extensive treatment by H. C. Youtie, *Classical Weekly* 37 (1944) 163—5 = *Scriptiunculae* II, pp. 873—4. I am indebted to D. Bonneau for bringing this article to my attention.
- 2266—2268 The present location of the Chicago receipts for seed grain is given in R. W. Allison, "Guide to the Edgar J. Goodspeed Papyri", *ZPE* 16 (1975) 27 ff.
- 2280 a Above and to the left of βαρέων is a long horizontal stroke with a hook at the left end, like those dividing the entries in BGU 9. This fragment cannot belong to that document since the recto document here has nothing to do with the recto document there.
- 2286 verso, translation "... for the beer-tax (and other) things for", etc.
2294. 7 n. This phrase is discussed in J. Shelton, "A Further Note on P. Wisc. 27", *ZPE* 18 (1975) 288.
- 2294 Probably better translated, "(N. N. to N. N., son of) Harpagathes", etc.
- 2299 introd. "... at one sitting. However, rightward displacement is perhaps not so common as leftward (see J. D. Thomas, "A New List of Nomes from Oxyrhynchus", *Akten d. XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Münchener Beiträge 66 (1974) 398 n. 3).
2309. 9 n. This is an Egyptianism; see H. C. Youtie, *Classical Weekly* 37 (1944) 164 *fin.* = *Scriptiunculae* II, p. 874.
2340. 23 n. See also H. J. Wolff, "Zur Rechtswirksamkeit d. gr. Urk. Ägyptens i. d. Ptolemäer- u. Prinzipatszeit", *Festschrift für Max Kaser*, Munich, 1976, pp. 579 ff.
2350. 13 [κλῖ]δα for [κλεῖ]δα?
- 2361 introd. The few entries of the verso accounts which I have been able to decipher mention *ἐργάται Τραιανοῦ Ποταμοῦ*, *ἐργάται ἀρτοκοπιῶν*, *ἱπποὶ* and *κάμηλοι*—the obvious implication being that this is an account of work on a canal.
2363. 7 n. See also P. J. Sijpesteijn, *OMRO* 45 (1964) 80 no. 62 introd.
- Index III *Ταῖβις* 2264 II 13
- Index X *κλεῖς* 2350. 13?

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

2248

2330
 The following is a list of the
 names of the persons who
 were present at the
 meeting of the
 committee on
 the 10th of
 the month of
 the year 1880.

2330

2304
 The following is a list of the
 names of the persons who
 were present at the
 meeting of the
 committee on
 the 10th of
 the month of
 the year 1880.

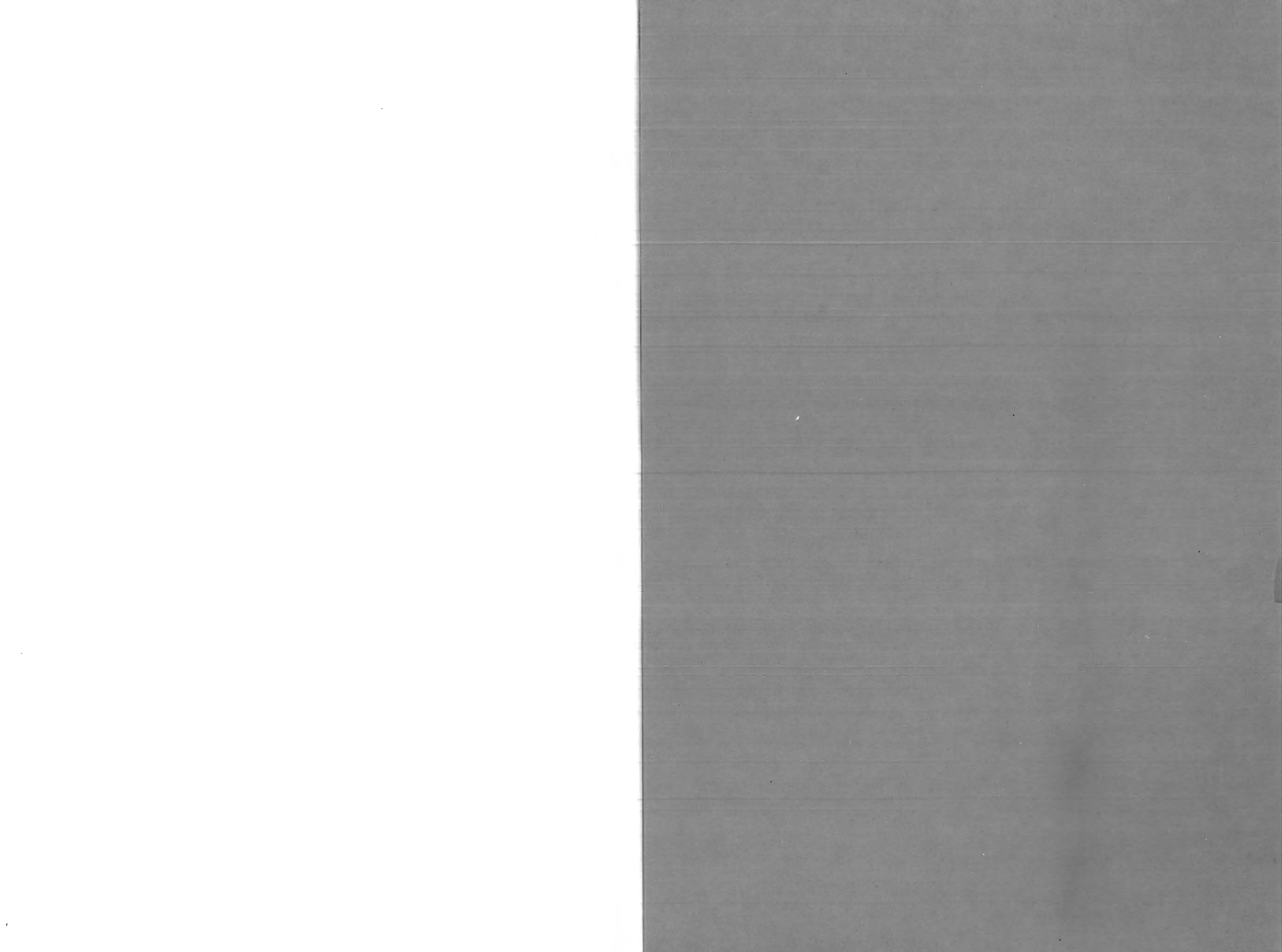
2304

2305
 The following is a list of the
 names of the persons who
 were present at the
 meeting of the
 committee on
 the 10th of
 the month of
 the year 1880.

2305

2361 a

[illegible]



H. IV

C 1

1892 →

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